ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT
Diſplay'd to the Life,
IN THE
Tyrannick Uſurpation
Of a *Junto* of Men called
The Rump Parliament.
And more eſpecially in that of the
TYRANT and USURPER
Oliver Cromwell.

In which you have a clear View of the Arbitrary, Illegal, and unjuſt Proceedings of thoſe Perſons under the Nation of Liberty.

And a Compendious Hiſtory of thoſe Times, Faithfully Collected; with the Characters and Lives of ſeveral of thoſe Uſurpers, and a brief Account of the ſeveral Perſons that ſuffered Death and Impriſonmen under them, for their Loyalty to their KING and Country.

And by which may be ſeen the difference between Arbitrary Uſurpers and Lawful Kings, reigning by, and according to the Laws of the Land.

Illuſtrated with ſeveral Braſs Cutts, repreſenting the chief Perſons and Paſſages therein.

The Second Edition.

London, Printed for *William Cademan* at the Popes Head in the lower Walk in the *New Exchange* in the *Strand*, 1683.

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THE INTRODUCTION.

OF late, *since the Spirit of Discontent hath possessed a great part of this Nation; nothing more hath been discoursed of and feared, next to that of the Alteration of the Protestant Religion, than* Arbitrary Government; *which I suppose is the Rule of any Person or Persons, by their own Will and Authority, without being tyed to the Rules, Methods, and Directions of the Laws of the Land, and a Converting of this most glorious* Monarchy, *into* Tyranny. *The fear and Jealousie of this Government, hath been exceedingly, of late, fomented, among the discontented People, by the sly Arts of those, who are, and ever will be, Enemies to the Religion, Peace, and Tranquility of this Nation; and no doubt, but the Machivilian* Jesuite, *and the Zealous* Papist, *have been the cause of all the imbroils of* England, *hoping by that Gate, to bring in their own* Religion, *and* Arbitrary Government: *The thing so much feared by the People of* England. *And truely in this Case they are not to be blamed,* Religion *and* Liberty, *being the two chiefest, and most valuable Jewels, belonging to the Crown of Life. And when they cast abroad their Eyes, and behold the Arbitrary, Despotical and Tyrannical reign of the Princes of other Countries, they may well be desirous of Conserving their own happy Government, in the Monarchy of this Nation; which is so equally divided, betwixt King and People, That the one cannot do injury, or wrong to the other, unless the one become Arbitrary, and the other Rebellious.*

The Constitution of the Government of England *is so sound, as it is not to be shaken or altered, with every small Occasion, for it must be absolute Tyranny on the one Hand, or absolute Rebellion of the other, that must break it to Pieces, and bring in the so much feared* Arbitrary Government. *And*

Therefore, it is against the Interest both of King and People, to intrench upon one the other, the one to invade the Prerogative of the King, the other the Priviledges of the People: For so equally hangs the Ballance between them, that as it is the Envy and admiration of all other Nations, so is it the Happiness and strength of our own; for the one side cannot Preponderate or weigh down the other, without breaking the just and equal Constitution of our Government. If therefore the Kings of this happy Nation, should at any time, thorow the Evil advice of their Councellors, go about to invade the peoples Liberties, and to think or hope to bring in Arbitrary Government, it would not be so easie a thing to effect it, since the mutual Bonds and Obligations, between the King and People are already so strong, as it is almost impossible to attain to that end, whilst the three Estates of the Land have a being, and without whom no alteration can be made. The people therefore, need not be in those Fears and Agonies, on every the least Occasion, of the evil Ministration of some of the chief Officers of State, of their Kings Intentions of bringing in of Arbitrary Government; *for no doubt the Kings of* England, *are as great and Imperial Monarchs, holding their Crowns of God only, and so account themselves, as any other Monarch whatsoever: Nor can we see, how a lawful Monarch can any ways better himself, or become more great, by such unlawful Arbitrariness, who by the Laws of the Land, and the Love of his People, wants neither Power nor Money, the only things a Tyrant can pretend to. It is therefore the Cunning Arts of the Enemies to* Englands *peace, who so needlesly, seek to buz it into the Ears of the People, that their King intends to bring in Arbitrary Government, upon every Occasion, given by any of his Ministers of State, in the management of those Affairs, they cannot see into the Bottom. But since the greatest Ministers, are Accountable for their male-Administration to* Parliaments, *there is, and can be no such Fear, I say of ever attaining that end, so long as* Parliaments *have a being, and without which our happy Monarchy cannot subsist totally. But many cry out against* Arbitrary Government, *and know not what it is, not being sufficiently sensible; of their living under, and being ruled and governed by a legal Monarch:*

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Tho ſome Faults and Miſcarriages may be found, or appear in his Miniſters; for the King himſelf can do no wrong, ſince he Acts nothing of himſelf, but by Miniſters, who are all Reſponſible for their Actions. Yet the People are not to be blamed, for their abhorrency of Arbitrary *or* Tyrannick Government, *which always attends uſurpation, ſince it is not ſo many years, that they have felt the burthen thereof; and if we look back, into all the Actions, of the moſt Arbitrary and Tyrannick, the lawful Kings of this Nation, we ſhall find the* Arbitrary Government, *attending uſurpers, in the little time of their uſurpation, to be more horrid and dreadful, and brought on this Nation more Miſery, Blood, and Perſecution, than any of them; nay, all of them together. I cannot think therefore, that any are ſerious, who cry out on the* Phanaticks, *as indeavouring or deſiring a* Common-wealth, *for I do think there are none of them, ſo really mad, as to deſire any ſuch thing, that would bring on them the dreaded* Arbitrary Government, *they ſo much Fear; ſince they found it by ſo late Experience, to be no remedy to their Evils, and cured their Fears and Jealouſies with a Plaiſter of Poyſon. And this alſo, I look upon to be a Stratagem of the ſame Enemies, on the other ſide, to Create a Jealouſie in the Head of the Prince, and his Miniſters, and to make them Conſtrue every Action of the People, tending to that end, which may be, and no doubt is, as far from their thinking, as it is from that of the other, in bringing in of* Arbitrary Government. *Since the Fears and Jealouſies of either ſide, are alike much heightned, by the indeavours of ſeveral ſorts of evil Perſons, and by ſome well meaning People, by being too ſevere in uncomely and bitter Expreſſions, and throw the Toleration of the many Licentions, and Scandalous Papers, which daily fly abroad, the* Author *of theſe true Collections, of the Miſeries this Nation ſuffered, under the* Arbitrary Government, *of Tyrannic uſurpers, Expoſes it to the Abhorrency of the Nation, that they might behold it in a Glaſs; and that the Governours of our Common-wealth, may not run upon the ſame Rocks: Nor the People, into the like Rebellion, in ſeeking to avoid* Arbitrary Government, *or ſome Shadows of it, bring it upon themſelves totally, to*

the ſubverting the Monarchy and the Fundamental Laws of the Land.

To the intent then, that they may ſee the difference, between the happy Reign of lawful Kings, and uſurping Tyrants, we have Collected the illegal Acts, and bloody Perſecutions, of thoſe uſurpers of Arbitrary Government, *the* Rump *and* Oliver, *that by the matter of Fact, the People may be convinced and deterred from thinking of Rebelling againſt their lawful Prince, ſince 'tis the only way to bring in* Arbitrary Government, *whoſe moſt horrid Picture, is diſplay'd in the following Hiſtory.*

Arbitrary

Arbitrary Government diſplayed to the Life, in the illegal Tranſactions of the late Times.

IF we mount up the Hill of *Time preſent*, and thence take a view; on either hand lyes *Time paſt*, and *Time future*, or to come; the latter is continually hidden in a Cloud, and we are not able to take any Proſpect of it, unleſs by Divine or Prophetick illumination, which tho certain, is rare; yet a wiſe man by looking back on *Time paſt*, and Comparing the certain Effects reſulting from ſeveral Cauſes, may give a ſhrewd Gueſs of what is to come; and thus from Experience he will pronounce, that Fears and Jealouſies betwixt a Prince and his people, being wrought to the height, will produce on the one hand *Severity*, on the other *Rebellion*: If the Prince gets the better of the People, after they have run into actual diſobedience, it is not to be expected, he ſhould, whilſt he Lives, ſlacken the Reins of his Power, but by keeping them under, extend it to the utmoſt of the line: If the people thrive in their Rebellion, the certain ſequel is *uſurpation*, Tyrannick and *Arbitrary Government*, as hath been ſeen in ſeveral Ages, and recounted in ſeveral Hiſtories, which we ſhall not mention; our Deſign being to confine our Diſcourſe to our own late Affairs, and Tranſactions, from the firſt ſetting up of the *Rump*, in the place of *Monarchy*, to the Reſtauration of our preſent *Monarch*, whom God grant long to Reign.

If we look down from this Hill of *Time preſent*, thorow the Optick of Hiſtory, on *Time paſt*, we behold the firſt Ages as in Landſkip only, not in a due Proportion, being much leſſened in Relation; the middle A-

ges are more clearly viewed, and lye open to diſcovery, and are more largely Diſplayed in Hiſtory: but again, the more near, or next to the Mountain of *Time preſent*, are alſo covered in a certain obſcurity, and as it were over-ſhadowed by the Mount of *Time preſent*, that Truth is traced with a faint touch, and uſually things are not ſo clearly ſeen, as at a longer diſtance. But ſince every day renders the Proſpect more clear, We hope in this our ſhort Relation, of the late Uſurpers, and of their Tyrannick and *Arbitrary Government*, to ſhew to the People a moſt lucid Picture of that dreaded Monſter, which they do, and may moſt juſtly fear, *Arbitrary Government*.

Fears and Jealouſies fomented and heightned, we may ſay begot it, and Rebellion brought it forth, for it was the foul Iſſue of our bloody Civil Wars. It is not my task to write the Tranſactions, between the late King and his Parliaments, nor to draw forth a Scheme of that moſt unnatural War, which robb'd *England* of it's Peace, and devoured ſo many brave and valiant Subjects; this hath been ſufficiently and fully, by ſeveral Pens, already performed. But I ſhall begin the riſe of my Hiſtorical Collections, from the time of the Excluſion of the greater part of the Members of the houſe of Commons, called the long Parliament, and when the Tail or *Rump*, as they are called, of the ſaid Commons, againſt all Law and Right uſurped, the Regal Authority of the Nation, and placing it upon themſelves, Exerciſed a *Tyrannick*, and *Arbitrary Government*, with any ſhadow of legal Authority; for altho it is not to be doubted, that the bloody War, commenced by the long Parliament, againſt their ſovereign Lord and King, was illegal and unjuſt, yet I ſay, by that Bill, paſſed by his late Majeſty, together with the Bill of attainder againſt the Earl of *Strafford*, on the 8*th*. of *May*, 1641. for the continuance of that Parliament, and that it ſhould not be Prorogued or Adjourned, but by act of Parliament, and on the 10*th*. of the ſame Month had the Royal aſſent, gave them I ſay

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ſome Colour or ſhadow of Authority, and extreamly imbroiled the Kings affairs. The adviſers to the paſſing of this Act are not certainly known, ſome attribute it to the Lord *Say*, others to the deſigning Marqueſs *Hamilton*, who brag'd of it in *Scotland*, as his Act; but whoever they were, it prov'd moſt pernicious to the King, and ſeem'd to Authoriſe the Rebellion by his own Act.

But before we enter upon the Actions of theſe Uſurpers, we ſhall only make mention of ſome preliminary Acts, of illegal Arbitrarineſs, of this Parliament, before their Votes of Non-Addreſſes to the King, and their ſecluding their fellow Members, and of their growing up to that perfection of Evil, in taking upon them the Adminiſtration of the Government, and of that unparallel'd Murther of a great Monarch, their ſoveraign Lord and King. The firſt was, under the Notion of maintaining the Proteſtant Religion, their entring into a ſolemn Proteſtation or Aſſociation among themſelves, and alſo impoſing it on the Conſciences of all others, who ſhould bear any Office either in Church or State. Secondly, their raiſing men, arming them, and forming an Army, and ſo running on into actual Rebellion, againſt their Head, and continuing that moſt Bloody War with ſo much Heat and Animoſity, hearkning to no Treaties, *&c.* Next, their flinging the Biſhops out of the Houſe, and impriſoning twelve of them for aſſerting their Right only, by a Proteſtation. And which was abſolutely againſt the Priviledges granted to them by *Magna Charta*, and a lopping off one of the Eſtates of the Realm. Then their putting a difference between the Kings perſon, and his politick Capacity, raiſing War againſt him in his own Name, for as yet the *Keepers of the Liberties of England* were not thought of, but the Style ran in the name of the King and Parliament, making the King to fight againſt himſelf, and to War with himſelf. Next their illegal impriſoning their fellow Subjects, and diſſeizing many of their free Holds, for their Loyalty to their Prince, and

for not lending them Money to carry on their Rebellion, and alſo putting to Death the *Hothams*, all contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the Liberty of the ſubject, and full of *Arbitrarineſs*. Next their endeavouring to perſwade the People, that the Soveraignty law wholly and radically in them, and ſo effectually in the *Parliament*, or Houſe of *Commons*, for they now began to be eſteemed only the *Parliament*. Then by their Endeavouring to take the power of the Sword out of their Soveraigns hand, and to put it into their own, thereby to make him a King of Clouts, or in Show, or a meer Duke of *Venice*. Then their own Declaration, printed and publiſhed, ſhewed how well *Arbitrarineſs* thrived, when they owned, That their Votes were not to be queſtioned, either by King or People: That no Precedents could bound their proceedings: That the Soveraign Power reſides in the two Horſes: That the King hath no negative Voyce: That a levying War againſt the perſonal Commands of the King, tho he were preſent, is not a levying War againſt the King, but that a levying War againſt his Laws and Authority, is levying War againſt the King, which was levying War againſt them: That Treaſon could not be committed againſt the perſon of the King, otherwiſe then he was intruſted: That they had power to judge of his Actions, and whether he diſcharged his truſt or not, and that they were only judges of the Law. Their Arbitrary putting to death of *Yeomans* and *Boucher* at *Briſtol*, and others at *London*, for endeavouring to ſhew their Loyalty to their King, and Acting againſt them, and their illegal Authority. Voting and making a new Seal, and breaking all the Kings old Seals, Privy Signets, of the King's-bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, *&c.* Beheading of ſeveral perſons by a Court martial, againſt Law and Equity. Putting Arch-Biſhop *Laud* to Death after four years Impriſonment. Their taking the *Scotch* ſolemn League and Covenant, for the Extirpation of *Epiſcopacy*, and the alteration of Religion, eſtabliſhed by Law, contrary to Law, and accord-

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ing to their own illegal and Arbitrary proceedings. With many more Acts of the ſame nature, which plainly declared to all the World, how far they had deviated from their firſt more plauſible Pretexts. But all this while I ſay, by the Kings great Conceſſion, in yielding to paſs that Act, which wrought him ſo much Miſchief, they ſeemed to have a ſhadow of Power, from the King: and acted as an Houſe, tho contrary to the King, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and againſt Equity, Conſcience, and Religion.

But now, after the King had been delivered up to them from the *Scots*, and that they had ſubdued all his Forces and Garriſons, *Ragland* Caſtle in *Wales*, being the laſt that held out for his Majeſty, then they ſhewed their power more manifeſtly, and that their Intentions were to uſurp the Regal Authority altogether, having thus far taſted the ſweetneſs of it, and thrived in their Rebellion. On the 4*th.* of *June* 1647. a Party of Horſe, under Cornet *Joyce*, ſeized the King at *Holdenby*, where he was under reſtraint by the Parliaments order, and Carried him away to the Army, and thence by them brought to *Hampton Court*, about the middle of *Auguſt*; where both the Parliament and Army make to him their ſeveral unjuſt Propoſals, after the inſolent manner of Victors, which the King could in no ways grant, being contrary to his Conſcience, his Crown and Dignity. At the ſame time the Independant Officers of the Army, kept their chief Cabals at *Putney*, where it was propoſed among them: That it was not ſafe for them, nor the Kingdom, to grant any Power to the King: That it was not for them to ſet up a Power, which God had determined to pull down: That the power of Kings was grown a burthen to the Nation, and that the reaſon of all their Diſtractions in their Counſels, was from their Compliance to ſave that man of Bood, and to uphold the Tyranny, which God by their many Succeſſes, had declared againſt. Where alſo Major General *Harriſon* made a ſpeech preſſing them to the taking off the King; Who having notice of theſe wick-

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ed Agitators Actions, makes his escape from *Hampton* Court, leaving a Letter behind him, intending to get over to the *Isle of Jersey*, but being in the Isle of *Wight*, he put himself under the Protection of Collonel *Hammond* a Parliament man, and Governour there; who sending notice thereof to the Parliament, they Vote, That he should be continued in the Castle of *Cowes*: That no Malignants shall stay in the *Island*: That no Delinquent or Forreigner should be permitted to come to him without the Parliaments leave: That five Thousand pounds should be advanced for his Accommodation, and That they would consider who should attend his Person.

In the mean time the Independent party of the Army cause a Mutiny, which tho quelled by the Industry of *Cromwel* and his Son-in-Law *Ireton*; yet it caused them to alter their Councels, and to joyn with them against the Parliament, and all accommodation whatsoever with the King. The King sends a Letter to the Parliament from the Isle of *Wight*, dated November, 18. 1647. superscribed to the Speaker of the House of Lords, to be communicated to the House of Commons. In which he granted for Peace-sake, the setling of *Presbytery* for three years: And the Militia in the hands of the Parliament during his Reign, with a Proviso by Patent, that then it should return again to his Successors; And also that they should have the Choice of his Privy Councellors, and desired earnestly to have with them a personal treaty in *London*. After a long debate upon this Letter, the Commissioners of *Scotland* also pressing them to comply with the Kings just desires, on the 26*th*. of November they concluded, That four Previous Acts should be drawn up, and sent to the King, to which if he would sign, they Voted, That they then would admit of a personal Treaty with him. These unreasonable Proposals, drawn into form of Acts, were these: First, an Act for raising, setling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, *&c.* In which they fully and wholly divested the King of the Militia, his Heirs and Successors for ever, and gave an unlimitted

Power

power to the two houſes,to raiſe what Forces they pleaſe, for Land or Sea,and of what perſons they pleaſe,and what Money they pleaſe to maintain them. The ſecond was,that all Declarations, Oaths, Proclamations againſt the Parliament,might be recalled,or againſt all or any that adhered to them. The third, an Act that thoſe Peers,that were made after the great Seal was carried away from the Parliament,might be made uncapable of ſitting in the houſe of Peers: And laſtly, That Power may be given to the two Houſes to adjourn themſelves as they think fit. By theſe you may eaſily perceive,to what height they were come of all unreaſonableneſs. Theſe were preſented to the King at *Carisbrook Caſtle* in the Iſle of *Wight*, on the 24*th*. of *December* 1647. by the Earl of *Denby*, the Lord *Mountague*,*Liſle*, *Goodwin*, *Bunkley*, and *Kemp*, Commiſſioners from both Houſes of Parliament. The King it may well be thought, having no deſire to dethrone himſelf, and enſlave his Subjects, refuſed the Bills, and deſired to Treat perſonally, ſending them his reaſons in Writing: Whereupon Sr. *Tho. wroth*, moves the Houſe, That the King, who had Acted like a Mad man, ſhould be ſecured in ſome inland Caſtle, with ſure Guards: That Articles of Impeachment ſhould be drawn up againſt him: That he ſhould be wholly lay'd by, and that they would think of ſome other Government, no matter what, ſo it were not by Kings or Devils. Then *Ireton* gravely, and with his Proteſting he ſpake the Sence of many thouſand Godly men, who had ventured their Lives with him in the Army, ſaid: That the King in denying thoſe Bills, had deny'd his ſafety and protection to the People, and that therefore they might juſtly, and lawfully deny to yield him any further Obedience, and that it was fit they ſhould ſettle the Kingdom without him. Then *Cromwell* at laſt, after a long debate, with an Hypocritical Face, ſtood up, telling them, of the Valour, Courage, Reſolution, and readineſs of the Army, to ſtand by them, and to Live and Dye with them, and that therefore, now the Parliament ſhould by their own Power, Rule and

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Govern the Kingdom, and not expect ſafety any longer, or any help from an Obſtinate man, whoſe heart God had hardened, and therefore no more to be truſted, for that his future Reign, would become more inſupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Juſtice. That elſe thoſe men, who had ſo long defended them, would think themſelves betray'd by them, to the Malice and Rage of an irreconcileable Enemy, whom they had ſubdued for their ſakes, and that diſpair might teach them, to ſeek their ſafety, by ſome other means, than adhering to them, who would not ſtick to themſelves; and how deſtructive that reſolution might be to them all, he even trembled to think of, and left them to conſider. This concluding Menace, from that terrible Bug-bear, very much overawed the Houſe. Upon this they came to Vote, and the Queſtions being put, they Voted, No more Addreſſes or Applications ſhould be made to the King, carrying it in the Affirmative, there being one hundred and forty one Yeas and ninety one Noes. This was alſo aſſented to by the Lords and publiſhed, Reſolved by the Lords and Commons Aſſembled in Parliament, That no Application or Addreſs be made to the King by any Perſon whatſoever without the leave of both Houſes. Reſolved by the Lords and Commons, &c. That the Perſon or Perſons, that ſhall make breach of this Order, ſhall incur the penalty of high Treaſon. Reſolved by the Lords and Commons, &c. That they will receive no more any Meſſage from the King; and do injoyn, that no Perſon whatſoever, do preſume to receive or bring any Meſſage from the King to both or either of the Houſes of Parliament, or any other Perſon.

Upon this comes forth a Declaration from the Army. Among other things they declare, That they are reſolved to ſtand by the Parliament, in theſe their Votes concerning the King, and in what ſhall be neceſſary for the Proſecution thereof, and for the ſetling and ſecuring of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and againſt him, or any other that ſhall partake with him. The Parliament alſo after this, put forth a

publick

publick Declaration, about the beginning of *February*, 1648. in which were many ſtrange Invectives againſt the King, and his Government, raking in all the Errors thereof, and remembring things done before his Reign. They alſo endeavoured to have fixed on him the Murther of his Royal Father King *James*, the Rebellion and Maſſacre of *Ireland*, and other wicked and horrid Crimes lay'd to his Charge, and almoſt in every bodies Mouth, ſo that they were not only Content to take away the Government from their King, and to uſurp the Royal dignity, but they went about to defame him, and to Murther his Honour and Innocency, even before they had agreed to take away his Life from his Perſon, and to make him as odious as they could, in the Eyes of all men, to take off the Odium as much as they could from themſelves, for what th y now intended to do, *viz.* The murther of their Prince, which began now to be deſigned by the prevailing Independent Party, who had got the Army on their ſides and overawed the reſt.

However, they could not carry things ſo, but that their Intentions began to be ſeen, altho they had procured Letters or Addreſſes of thanks, from ſeveral Counties, by their Agents, for their Votes againſt the King; yet for the moſt part the peoples Eyes being now every day more and more opened, began to ſee what a Brat they had nouriſhed up, under the notion of Liberty, who being grown up to it's height, proved that moſt dreadful *Arbitrary*, they ſo much had feared; inſomuch, that from Grumbling and Murmuring, the City began to ſtir, and in ſeveral other places, as in *Kent*, and in *Wales*, under *Lanborn*, *Poyer*, and *Powell*; upon this the Commitee of *Darby* Houſe was Impowred anew, for the ſuppreſſing of Tumults and Inſurrections. The Inſurrections were ſoon quelled, tho not without Blood, by the induſtry of *Cromwel* and *Ireton*, and by the Permiſſion of divine Providence. The *Scots* by their Commiſſioners, deſired to know if they were excepted by the Parliaments Votes of Non-Addreſſes to the King, which Meſſage cauſed great debates, and being yet

fearful

fearful of diſobliging them, at laſt it was permitted them, to make Addreſſes to the King: which was not well taken by the Independent Faction in the Army. But the King was now more ſtraitly ſecured, by Collonel *Hammond*, and he found not that Favour from him he had hoped for, being the Brother of one of his beloved Chaplains Doctor *Hammond*: His Servants were removed from him, and he reſtrained within the Caſtle walls, which begot a Pitty and Commiſeration of his Caſe, in the breaſt of ſeveral Loyal Subjects within the Iſland, and eſpecially Captain *Burleigh*, who had formerly ſerv'd him in the Army, and who now made an attempt to reſcue the King out of *Hammond*'s hands; but miſcarrying, he was taken, and on the 10*th*. of *February* put to death at *Winchester*, being tryed for High Treaſon by Serjeant *Wild*. Upon this his Majeſty put forth his Declaration, which begot great Compaſſion in the Hearts of all his Loyal Subjects throughout the Kingdom. But yet they were not able to help him, the Power being out of their Hands. And he ſuffered a very cloſe Confinement, being ſequeſter'd from the Converſe of men, which made him apply himſelf to a more divine and bleſſed Converſe with God, as may be ſeen by his Excellent meditations, in his Book called Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ, or the *Pourtraiture* of *his Majeſty*, in *his Solitude and Sufferings*, then wrot.

And now the Univerſities were purged; for having the Sword, they reſolved to have none of thoſe Gownmen to plead Goſpel for the Kings Authority, and therefore all ſuch ſhould be ejected, that knew not how againſt Conſcience to preach and declaim of their ſides; to which end the Earl of *Pembrook* Chancellour of the Univerſity of *Oxford*, with others as learned as himſelf, were ſent to purge the Univerſity, where they turned forth many learned and honeſt men, under the Notion of Ignorant and Scandalous, by which means they ſent packing all ſuch as were not for their turn.

April the 20*th*. the Duke of *York* made his eſcape from St. *James*'s, in woman-apparel, and landed ſafe at

Dort

Dort in *Holland*; and about the ſame time, ſeveral Petitions came to the Parliament, and eſpecially one from the County of *Eſſex*, which ſupplicate, That the Army might be paid off and Disbanded, and the King admitted to a perſonal Treaty. *Surry* and the City of *London* followed with the like, and the Affections of the People began to appear, and were ready to fly to Arms. The *Kentiſh* men being up ten Thouſand ſtrong were routed by General *Fairfax*, the Earl of *Norwich* who headed them, with five hundred men croſſed over the *Thames* into *Eſſex*, and Sr. *Charles Lucas* joyning him with 200 thouſand men, they poſſeſſed themſelves of *Cholcheſter*, which became the ſeat of War and endured a famous Siege. Alſo at the ſame time a part of the Navy revolted to the Prince, who having attempted to help his Father, in vain, was forced to retire into *Holland*, with his Fleet. Then the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Peterborough* and others, Head a freſh Inſurrection at *Kingſton* upon *Thames*, where they were routed, the Earl of *Holland* taken, and the Lord *Francis Villers* the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Brother ſlain.

Affairs ſtanding in this Poſture, the *Scots* are much diſpleaſed, tho they had many fair Offers made them by the Parliament, Concerning the Payment of money yet due to them; and on the 24*th*, day of *July* they paſſed an Ordinance, to eſtabliſh the *Presbyterian* Government in *England* and *Ireland*, under Claſſical, Provincial, and Parochial Aſſemblies, to pleaſe them; yet all would not do, for they Voted in *Scotland*, a War with *England*, and publiſhed a Declaration, wherein they propoſe: That the King may come to *London*, or to ſome of his Houſes near, with ſafety: That thoſe who had Carried him away might make Satisfaction, or be puniſhed for it: That the Army under the Lord *Fairfax* might be disbanded: That *Presbytery* be ſetled and Sectaries puniſhed: That all members of the Houſe might be reſtored. Upon this *Berwick* was ſurpriſed, Forces came out of *Ireland*, and many riſe in the *North* for the King: *Carliſle* is ſeized, and their Forces increaſed

ſed under Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sr. *Thomas Glenham*, Sr. *Philip Muſgrave*, and others, to the number of three Thouſand Horſe and foot. Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale* is made their General: And on the 13*th*, of *July*, the *Scots* enter with an Army into *England*, under Duke *Hamilton*, with whom *Langdale* joyns, and beats *Lambert* at *Appleby*: Several places declared for the King, and all things ſeemed in an hopeful way, when *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marches with his Army to *Preſton* in *Lancaſhire*, to give a ſtop to *Hamilton*, who was about twenty Thouſand ſtrong, with the *Engliſh*: *Lambert* joyns with *Cromwell*, and make up a Body of about twelve Thouſand; on the 17*th*. of *Auguſt* both Armies Face one another, and the battel being begun on the *Engliſh* ſide, after two hours diſpute, the *Scots* gave ground, and were moſt fiercely purſued by the *Engliſh*, and Totally routed, multitudes of them being taken, but *Hamilton* eſcaped to *Nantwich*, with three Thouſand horſe, where the Countrey being up in Armes ſeized upon moſt of them, and at laſt *Hamilton* himſelf was taken at *Uloxeter*, by the Lord *Gray* of *Grooby*; the *Scots* Enſigns, Cornets, and Colours, then taken, were afterwards hung up in *Weſtminſter* Hall. Sr *Marmaduke Langdale* was alſo taken, and *Cromwell* improving his Victory, marches towards *Monroe*, who was coming with a reſerve of ſix Thouſand *Scots*, but upon *Hamilton*'s overthrow, had order to return into *Scotland*, which they did, but the *Anti-Hamiltonian* party in *Scotland*, under *Argile*, which were the ſtricter ſort of *Presbyters*, invited *Cromwell* into *Scotland*, which he laying hold on, to ſmooth his way he put forth a Declaration, ſeverely prohibiting any Souldier, under pain of Death, to take either Money, Horſes, Goods, Victuals, or any other thing, or any ways to abuſe the People. He put ſuch a terror among the *Scots*, that they all preſently ſubmitted, and agreed to disband their Armies, and to render up to him *Berwick*, and *Carlile*, which were in their Hands: That a Parliament ſhould be called in *Scotland*, for the ſetling Religion, and compoſing their differences,

rences, and alſo that none that had been in the laſt Ingagements againſt *England*, ſhould be choſen of this new Parliament, or into their general Aſſembly. Thus having ſetled *Scotland* to his mind, he returns into *England*. Upon his Victory againſt *Hamilton*, *Colcheſter* being driven to the utmoſt extremity, was ſurrendred, and the two valiant Gentlemen contrary to Faith given, Sr. *Charles Lucas*, and Sr. *George Liſle*, ſhot to Death, and the Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Capel*, and others ſent Priſoners to *London*. While theſe things were in doing, there had been ſome Attempts made towards the private murthering of the King, which was made known to the Parliament, who took ſome Examinations thereupon, but nothing to any purpoſe done in it, he being now look'd upon as a Tyrant, and ſuffered openly to be ſo called daily, with many other moſt opprobrious Speeches, both againſt his perſon and Government, which the Parliament took no notice of, but had made an Order in *April*, before: That any three of their Committee-men at *Darby* Houſe, ſhould have Power to Impriſon and ſequeſter, all ſuch as ſhall actually adhere to any, that ſhall raiſe or endeavour to raiſe, any Tumults or Inſurrections, or ſhall ſo much as ſpeak or publiſh any thing reproachful of the Parliament or their proceedings; ſo that you ſee they had tyed up mens Tongues, from ſpeaking againſt themſelves, without the leaſt reſtraint of reviling their King, and, for every light Word, a free born Subject of *England*, was made an offender, and lyable to be ruined, at the Pleaſure of three Arbitrary men of their Committee, abſolutely againſt that known Maxim of our Law, *Nemo impriſonetur aut diſſeiſietur niſi per legale judicium parium ſuorum.* No man ſhall be impriſoned, or diſſeiſed of his Property, but by the lawful judgment of his Peers; that is, by a jury of twelve men. But what ſignified *Magna Charta*, Petition of Right, the Ancient Laws of the Land, to theſe Men, who had trampled the Imperial Crown under their feet, and uſurp'd more than ever rightful Monarch, or the moſt Arbitrary of our Kings ever Claim'd? And had raiſed

raiſed upon the People, for the maintainance of this unnatural War, and towards the enſlaving of themſelves, about three Millions of pounds ſterling *Per annum*, which was ſix times more than ever the moſt rapacious of our Kings had raiſed on the People, beſides the vaſt Incomes of the Kings revenue, Sequeſtrations, and Compoſitions.

About the third of *Auguſt*, the Prince (now our Soveraign) ſent Letters to the City, Expreſſing his good affection to Peace, and to the whole City, and his Endeavours to vindicate his fathers Liberty and juſt Prerogative, and Rights; and to reſtore to the People their Laws, Liberties, and Property, to free them from Bondage, and to eaſe them of the Burthen of Exciſe, and Taxes, to ſettle Religion, and to reduce all things into their proper Channel. This Letter was accompanied with others, and a Declaration to the ſame purpoſe, all which were Communicated to the Parliament. But there, in Requital, it was vehemently urged by ſome, That the Prince might be declared a Traitor and a Rebel; but others ſtood up and gave ſeveral Reaſons (too long here to rehearſe) to the Contrary; and ſo it paſſed over at this time. On the *7th.* of *Auguſt* an ordinance paſſed, for erecting a new Militia in every County, and particularly for the County of *Wilts*, Commiſſioners being named, who had power to raiſe what men they pleaſed, to Arm them, and to fine defaulters ten pound a Man, and twenty dayes Impriſonment, and to levy four hundred pound a Week, upon that one County, beſides the ordinary Taxes, and free Quarter. O brave Liberty and Freedom!

Whilſt the Army were employed in reducing the *Scots*, and Royal party, Petitions were continually ſent from ſeveral Counties, to the Parliament, all tending to the ſame effect, the disbanding the Army, eaſing the people of their Burthens, and a perſonal Treaty with the King. The City of *London* Petitions alſo for the ſame, and to have their impriſoned Citizens releaſed, which were chiefly Aldermen *Langham* and *Bunce*, and their

their Recorder *Glin.* The Lords had, it ſeems, not concurred readily with the Commons, in ſome of their Votes, upon which it was moved in the Houſe, to take away the Lords negative Voyce So early *Arbitrary* began to ſhew it ſelf in the higheſt degree, nothing now ſeeming too great for the Commons: For a certain Lawyer, undertook to make good; That the Houſe of Commons (being the Repreſentative of all the People) had power to Act without the Lords, for the ſafety of the People, in caſe the Lords deſerted their Truſt. Here was a ground lay'd for a future ſubverting the Foundation of all Parliaments, and how well they improved this Doctrine we ſhall ſee hereafter. The Lords and Commons, had lay'd by the King, and now the Commons were for laying aſide the Lords, and the next thing to be expected will be to ſee the Army and their Grandees to lay aſide the Commous, and to rule alone by themſelves, uſurping both the Kings Soveraign and Governing power, the Parliaments Legiſlative power, and the Judges Iudicative power, and ſo Eſtabliſh their *Oligarchy*, or elſe it may be expected, that one more powerful than the reſt, ſhould uſurp all the Power into his own hand, and become a moſt abſolute and Arbitrary Tyrant, as it hapned to come to paſs.

I cannot paſs over another excellent mark of ſtrange *Arbitrarineſs*, againſt all Law and Right, Moral as well as Civil, in their ſequeſtring the Eſtate of one *Wall* a Delinquent as they called him, after his Death, and taking it from his Wife and Children gave it to one of their Creatures, who ſued for the ſame, tho it was argued againſt their unjuſt Proceedings, That in the caſe of the higheſt Treaſons, and of Felony, no man was Condemned after his Death, becauſe he was not then in being, to Anſwer for himſelf, and there could be no proceeding in Law againſt *Non Ens*: Nay if a Fellon tho alive, will ſtand mute, he ſhall not forfeit his Lands, becauſe he wants Anſwer, tho he loſes his Life for Contempt of the Law. Yet the Godly party prevailed,

ed, and they beſtowed the Sequeſtration of the ſaid *Wall*'s Lands, tho dead, on another, with a *Proviſo*, that it ſhould not be drawn into Example.

§ *Cromwell* gives the Parliament, by a Letter to their Speaker, an account of his Victories, with Admonitions to them, not to hate God's people, who were as the Apple of his Eye, and for whom Kings were to be reproved, That they ſhould fulfil the end of their Magiſtracy, that all that would live quietly and peaceably might have Countenance from them, and that they who were implacable, might be ſpeedily deſtroyed out of the Land. And to prepare the way for their Deſtruction, they ordered: That *an Ordinance be Penned*, and *brought into the Houſe of Commons*, to try all *ſuch by Martial Law*, in *the City of London, as ſhall be found to Plot, Deſign, or Contrive any thing, to endanger the Parliament or City*: Here again; you may ſee all the Common Laws of the Land laid aſide, and Martial Law made uſe of, in the Head City of the Land. Which was then no Garriſon, and by order of theſe Parliamentarians, and Aſſertors of the peoples Liberties, Rights, and Priviledges.

But however, the Army being at a diſtance from the City, ſubduing the Kings Friends, and the Parliaments Foes, the Independant Party in the Houſe of Commons, were not ſo prevalent, but that the other Party took Courage; and appearing, began to come more to themſelves, encouraged by ſeveral Petitions out of the Countrey, for a Treaty with the King, upon which they became inclinable, and begun to ſet themſelves to that Pious work, tho hindred all that could be, by the Clamours, Speeches, and Behaviour of the Independants. And thereupon the Earl of *Middleſex*, Sir *John Hippesly*, and Mr. *Bulkley*, were ſent to the King, to let him know their Reſolutions; who returned, related the Kings ready Complianee thereto, as a thing he much deſired; upon which they Vote, That *the Votes of Non-Addreſſes* ſhould be *repealed*; *That the King might ſend for ſuch Perſons, as were neceſſary for him* in the *Treaty*; *That he ſhould be in a ſtate of Freedom*; *That five Lords and ten Commoners*,

ners, be choſen Commiſſioners to *Treat with the King at* Newport in *the Iſle of* Wight. Theſe Votes were ſent to the King, and Commiſſioners choſen; for the Lords, the Earls of *Northumberland*, *Salisbury*, *Pembroke*, *Middleſex*, and the Lord *Say*: for the Commons were, Lord *Wainman*, Mr. *Peirpoint*, Sr. *Henry Vain* the younger, Sr. *Harbottle Grimſton*, Sr. *Jo. Pots*, Mr. *Brown*, Mr. *Crew*, Mr. *Bulkly*, Mr. *Hollis*, and Mr. *Glyn*. Their Propoſitions were not much eaſier than their former, to which the King gave very Satisfactory Anſwers, conceding to many things, for Peace ſake, againſt his Prerogative; the greateſt Difficulty being the buſineſs of *Epiſcopacy*, which the King was unwilling ſhould be wholly aboliſhed. And now it was very likely, that the King and Parliament had agreed, and a full peace had inſued, but in the mean time many Officers of the Army held their *Cabals* at *Windſor*, where they were Contriving the Deſtruction of the King, and the Diſſolution of the Parliament; which *Cabals* they alſo continued at *London*, and other places, under the name of Agitators in behalf of the Army. Theſe were framing a Government among themſelves, and drew up a Remonſtrance, ſhewing: *That they were* the *Body of the People* of England: That *their Intereſt was the publick Intereſt* of *the People*; That *the People were the* only *Competent Judges* of *their own ſafety*: That *the ſupream Magiſtrates were the People Armed with ſupream Authority, and with the Sword.* Theſe perſons concluded among themſelves; that ſome ſhould be choſen out of the Army, to repreſent the whole Body: Theſe not to exerciſe the *Legiſlative* power, but only to draw up the Foundation of a Government; which the people were to conſent to, which conſent or Agreement of the People, ſhould be above Law: That in the Agreement a day ſhould be ſet for the Diſſolution of the Parliament; and this to be drawn up in a Remonſtrance from the Army. This was incouraged by Major general *Harriſon*, who urged, there could be no ſafety for them nor the Nation, but by the cutting off the Kings Head, and the thorowly

rowly purging at leaſt, if not the Diſſolving the Parliament. Upon this the Army, now wholly at *Cromwell*'s Devotion, 'ſends up a Petition to the Commons, for 'Juſtice to be done on the King, as a Capital Offender. 'That the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* be Sum-'mon'd by a Day, and if they come not in, to be de-'clared incapable of the Succeſſion and Government, 'and if they come in, to be proceeded againſt for Satis-'faction: That the Revenues of the Crown be ſequeſt-'red: That publick Juſtice might be done againſt the 'Actors in the late Wars, againſt the Parliament: That 'they may be paid their Arrears, and the Country eaſ-'ed of free Quarters; and laſtly, that a Period be put 'to this Parliament; and care taken for the Electing 'of future Parliaments, and that no King be admitted 'for the future.

Upon this the Army, that they might once more get the King into their Clutches, cauſe their General *Fairfax*, to write a Letter to Collonel *Hammond*, commanding him to deliver up the King to Collonel *Ewer*, who obeying, *Ewer* carries the King out of the Iſle of *Wight* to *Hurſt* Caſtle, on the 30*th*. of *November*: This force gave the Parliament an ill Reſentment, and they Vote, *That the ſeizing the Perſon of the King and Carrying him* Priſoner to Hurſt *Caſtle, was without the Advice and Conſent of the Houſes.* The Treaty thus broke off, and both the Lords and Commons, Vote, *That the King's Conceſſions was a ſufficient Ground for Peace.* Bnt the Army come up to *London*, and quarter at *White-Hall*, St. *James*'s and the *Mews*, reſolving to hinder the Parliaments proceedings with the King, and for that end they ſeized about forty Members coming to the Houſe, and committed them to Guards, in ſeveral places at *Weſtminſter*, and then accuſed ninety odd Members for inviting in the *Scots*, and required they might be excluded the Houſe. The Houſe of Commons troubled at theſe Proceedings, Adjourned for three days, and in the mean time the Army go on in making a Model of Government: In which it was agreed, *That in April* [illegible]

he Army Entring the City ~

The Rump & dreggs of ye house of Commons Sitting after ye Army had turnd ye godd members out

liver Seeking God whil e. King: is murthered by his order ~

Bradshaw the Taylor, and ye Hangman keepers of the Liberty es of England

that *Parliament ſhould* be Diſſolved, and that new *Repreſentatives* of the people ſhould be choſen, *Conſiſting of* three hundred Men, half of which number ſhould *be ſufficient to make a Law*: and that in the *Intervalls of Parliament*, the Nation ſhould *be Governed by* a *Council of State*. Theſe, with ſome other the like Stuff, was to be called the *Agreement of the People*.

This force being put upon the Houſe, and new moulded, driving away all that were not for their turn, beſides many others for fear abſented themſelves, the reſt (who afterwards obtained the name of *Rump*, or *Rumpers*, being the Relicks of a greater Body) met again, and ſubmitting to the Power of the Army to pleaſe them, Vote: *That no Meſſage be received from the King on pain of Treaſon*: *That the General ſhould take Care of his Perſon*, and *that a Charge of High Treaſon ſhould be drawn up againſt him*: Having now fully concluded to deſtroy him.

Thus have we briefly drawn to your View, the firſt Lineaments of an *Arbitrary Government*, and *Tyrannical uſurpation*, in very ſhort Draughts, ſhewing however the ways and means, whereby theſe Men, or *Junto* of Uſurpers, came by their Power and Authority, overthrowing the very Foundation of our Ancient and moſt glorious Monarchy, under the Notion of Liberty, and ſetting up a Tyrannical *Democracy*, or rather Oligarchy, under the Regiment of a few ſelected Fellows, who called themſelves the Parliament, and the Repreſentatives of the Nation, and in whom they pretend all Right of Power and Magiſtracy was to be placed.

The very ſhadow of all legal Power was now gone, and this unparallel'd force put upon the Parliament, in excluding the Major part of their Members, by the Arbitrary will of *Oliver Cromwel*, and his *Myrmidons*, contrary to all Law and Right, took from them the very Name of a Parliament. But they care not for that, they ſhadow their impious Acts, under that venerable Denomination, and having now, as they thought, got into the Kingly throne, by the power of the Army, and

the Sword, imagined they ſhould keep it, when all this while, not having the Command of the Army, but being ridden by the general Officers thereof, who deſigned, as ſoon as they had done their work, to pay them their Wages by diſmiſſing them, were but as the Cats foot, made uſe of by the Monkey, for the raking the Cheſnut out of the Fire, the benefit of which they intended to take themſelves, and this was the Murthering of their lawful Soverain, whom they had depoſed, which was the next main Deſign driven on by the Independent Army, and their *Dromidaries* this *Junto* of Men.

We have ſeen theſe Men grown up into full Strength of *Arbitrarineſs*, and got into the Throne of their Soveraign, we will now proceed, to Trace them by their Steps, in the Exerciſe of this their Tyrannical Uſurpation; which we ſhall find to be according to the ſame unlawful Progreſs, and to be of the ſame bloody Complexion; for it is a certain Maxim, *That what Power is got by unlawful means, muſt be kept by the ſame unlawful ways*, notwithſtanding the ſpecious pretences of Liberty, and ſetling the Kingdom.

This *Junto* of Men being met, and Voted as we have declared, That no more Addreſs ſhould be made to the King, nor any Meſſage received from him, they take Care in the next place, having got into the Saddle, to keep it; and to make the World believe, they had a right to it, if they could: for now an Ordinance was drawn up, that the Lords and Commons of England do declare, *That by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, it is Treaſon in the* King *of* England, *to levy War againſt the Parliament*. This preparative in making the King a Tranſgreſſor, and in placing the Supream Power in the People, whoſe Repreſentatives they were, was in Order to their Deſign of Murthering the King. This being ſent up to the Lords, who denyed to conſent to it, the Commons grow very angry, and finding the Lords to be yet an Obſtacle to their bloody Intentions, they Vote: *That all Members of Committees, ſhould Act* in any *Ordinance by them made, without the Lords Concurrance*,

the

the People having by God, the full power Originally in themſelves, and therefore what ever they enact is Law; which paſſed *Nemine Contradicente.*

The Army ſtill continuing their Guards upon the Houſe, keeping out any of thoſe Members were not of their Party, and impriſoning them, they had much adoe to make an Houſe, and ſometimes it was Noon before they could get forty men together, without which it could not be an Houſe; ſo very Scrupulous were theſe grand Hypocrites, to keep up a Face of Authority, in theſe minute Circumſtances, who in the great Fundamentals had broke in two all Bonds, Obligations, Oaths, and Laws.

The Army now the Lords of all, Garriſon *Black-Fryars*, and St. *Paul*'s, turning the houſe of God into a Stable, and defiling it with Dung, robbing divers Halls (which they call'd borrowing) of ſeveral ſums of Money, by their Saint-like Prerogative, accounting the reſt Egyptians. In the mean time, the ſecluded Members, ſtill impriſoned, put forth a Declaration againſt this moſt horrid violence of the Army, done to their Perſons, and to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Rights of the People, and the priviledges of Parliament: this was dated 11*th. December*, 1648. This being complained of to the Houſe, both Lords and Commons put forth a Declaration againſt it, wherein they declare, That the Declaration put forth, by thoſe Members of the Houſe of Commons, Excluded the Houſe, in which was theſe Words, *viz*: *That all Acts, Ordinances, Votes*, and *Proceedings of the Houſe* of *Commons, made ſince the 6th, of December* or *hereafter* to *be made, during the reſtraint* and *forcible Seclusion from the Houſe, and the Continuance* of the *Armies force upon it, are no way Obligatory, but void and null, to all Intents and Purpoſes*; was falſe, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tended to deſtroy the viſible, and fundamental Government of the Kingdom. And therefore ordered the printed Paper to be ſuppreſſed, and that all who had an hand in it, to be uncapable to bear Office, or to have any

truſt, place, or Authority in the Kingdom, or to ſit as Members of either Houſe of Parliament. Here again you ſee a moſt bold ſtroke of Arbitrary Sway, and what Noſes of Wax they made of all priviledes of Parliaments: O moſt excellent Conſervators of the Liberties of the Nation!

The next thing they fell upon was the unvoting of all former Votes of the Houſe which tended to any accommodation with the King, and renewed again their old Vote of Non-Addreſſes in *Terminis*, and that the Treaty with him in the Iſle of *Wight* was highly diſhonourable, and apparently Deſtructive to the good of the Kingdom. Thus forty or fifty of this Independent *Junto* undid, what was before done by at leaſt three hundred and forty before.

December 14*th.* Major *General Brown*, Sr. *William Waller*, Sr. *John Clotworthy*, Major *General Maſſy*, Commiſſary *General Copley*, were all impriſoned by a Council of War at *White-Hall*, tho Members of Parliament, upon which, they put forth alſo a new Declaration, or Proteſtation, in the name of themſelves, and all the Free-born people of England, againſt the violent and illegal Proceedings of the General and his Council of War, againſt the Laws of the Land, and Liberties of the People, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament; and that it was an higher Uſurpation, and exerciſe of an Arbitrary and unlawful Power, than hath been heretofore pretended, or attempted by this, or any other King, or other Power whatſoever, within this Realm.

About this time came forth a Paper from the Army, called the *Agreement of the People*; being almoſt word for word, the ſame which formerly had been preſented in the Year 1647. by the Agitators of the Army, and one *Gifford* a *Jeſuite*, buſie in promoting it, and then condemned by the Commons, as matter Deſtructive to the beings of Parliaments, and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and cauſed General *Fairfax* to condemn one of theſe Agitators, who promoted it, and cauſed him to be ſhot to Death at *Ware*. This was ill timed, and the buſineſs not yet Ripe enough,

enough, and was a ſecond time by the Vote of the ſame Houſe condemned, as Seditious and Contemptuous and Deſtructive, &c. and ſeveral were impriſoned upon it; but now the ſame being again obtruded upon this *Junto*, they cloſed with it, and followed it's Dictates, which were briefly: *That the people ſhould agree*, or did *agree together, to take away the preſent Government, by King Lords and Commons*, which they *were now going about*, *as* the Armies Journy-men, as faſt as they could.

And now *Oliver Cromwell* every day begins to grow more Conſpicuous, inſomuch as ſeveral Lords laying aſide their Honour and Greatneſs begin to Court and fawn upon him, and ſervilely to attend on him and do him Homage. The next thing the Lords and Commons do, is to Curb the City, whom they ſuſpect; and to hinder them from a free Election of their City Officers; another mark of Arbitrary Power: For which end many Exceptions are made, for thoſe that were to be elected into any Office, that none who had bore Arms for the King, in the firſt or ſecond War, or that had joyned with the *Scots*, or had ſubſcribed the Engagement 1647. or were aiding in any Tumult, or Inſurrection in the City, with other Reſtrictions, by which they brought all thoſe under, that they believed not fit for their wicked purpoſes. This was thought yet too ſhort by *Skippon*, who moved it to have alſo added, That none might bear Office that promoted the Treaty with the King, or endeavoured to have him brought to *London*: Which according to the deſire of the Saints was ordered as an Additional Ordinance; So that you now ſee, the very endeavouring of a Peace and Settlement of the Nation, was become a notorious Crime, and made a perſon incapable of bearing any Office in the City.

And to make themſelves ſure one of another, as Oaths, Declarations, and Proteſtations could make theſe Uſurpers, they cauſe their Members to ſign a new Proteſtation, againſt the Votes for a Treaty in the Iſle of

wight, and eſpecially againſt that Vote which much troubled them: *That his Majeſties Anſwers to the Propoſitions of both Houſes*, were a *ground for* the two *Houſes to Procede to a Settlement*. This, tho formerly thought by themſelves to tend to Faction, was now readily performed at the Armies requeſt: Four of their impriſoned Members had been releaſed, and now ſixteen more were ſent for before *Ireton*, and by him diſcharged: Telling them it was the General's pleaſure, they ſhould be releaſed, provided they attempted nothing againſt the Actings of the preſent Parliament and Army. But the Gentlemen would paſs no ſuch Engagement, which ſeeing, he gave order for their releaſe, but with this Menace, That if they made any Diſturbance it ſhould be at their peril.

The buſineſs they had now in hand, and were Reſolved on, *viz.*: *The King's murther*, muſt be cloaked under a Religious Covering, as if they were about ſome Pious Work; and therefore they mock God, as well as delude man, and keep a Faſt at St. *Margarets Weſtminſter*, where ſome few Lords and ſome of the Commons aſſembled, to whom the Pulpit-merry-*Andrew*, *Hugh Peters* preached: *Moſes* leading the Children of *Iſrael* out of *Egypt*, being the Subject which he applyed to the General and the Leaders of the Army, now leading the people out of *Egyptian* Bondage; and after ſome time, as Ridiculouſly as profanely hiding himſelf in the Pulpit, he ſtarts up, and tells them he had it now by Revelation, That the Army was to root out Monarchy, not only in *England*, but in all other Kingdoms, and ſo ſhould bring all people out of that *Egyptian* Bondage: That that Army, was the Stone cut out of the Mountain, which was to daſh all the Powers of the earth to pieces: With other Blaſphemous Speeches of the like Nature.

Mr. *Prin* was yet kept a Priſoner at the Kings-head-Inn in the *Strand*, from whence he wrot a Letter to *Fairfax*, to know by what Authority he was thus kept a Priſoner; he be ing a Parliament man, and a Free-born Subject of *England*. The General, who was but Chip

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in Porridge, and knew little of what was done by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, ſent him word, That he thought he had been releaſed with the reſt, and that he would ſend to know what they had againſt him. Upon which Mr. *Prin* puts forth a Declaration, ſhewing the horrid Injuſtice of their Proceedings againſt the Members of Parliament: and againſt and Contrary to all the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Council of War in the mean time, to humble his Majeſty, ordered, *That all State and Ceremony ſhould be forborn to the King*, and his *Attendants leſſen'd*. And now having made way for the moſt horrid and Bloody deſign that ever was heard of, the Motion is made in this uſurping Houſe, to proceed to the Tryal of the King, as a Capital Offender: When the grand Impoſtor *Cromwell* ſtood up, and ſaid; That if any man moved this upon Deſign, he ſhould think him the greateſt Traytor in the World; but ſince Providence and Neceſſity had caſt them upon it, he ſhould pray to God to bleſs their Councells. And ſo on the 28*th.* of *December*, 1648. *Thomas Scot*, brought in the Ordinance for the Tryal of the King, being read and Committed three ſeveral times, and all the Commiſſioners names inſerted, Conſiſting of divers Gentlemen and Soldiers. This Ordinance being paſſ'd the *Junto*, they ſend it up to the Lords Houſe, by the Lord *Grey* of *Grooby*, together with their Vote formerly made, *Viz.* Reſolved, &c. *That the Lords and Commons aſſembled in Parliament; do declare, and adjudge, That by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treaſon in the King of England for the time to come, to levy War againſt the Parliament and Kingdom of England.* The houſe of Lords debate the matter, and firſt the Declaratory Vote; againſt which, the Earls of *Mancheſter* and *Northumberland*, with others, ſpake, and declared, There was none nor could be any ſuch Fundamental Law in *England*, whereby the King could be a Traytor, by leaving War againſt his People; and that thus to declare Treaſon by an Ordinance, when no law was extant to judge it by, was moſt unreaſonable. Upon

which the Lords caſt out this Ordinance and Vote, and adjourned themſelves for ſeven days. This proceeding of the Lords gave them no ſmall trouble, and ſtirr'd up the wrath of ſome of the Zealots, who threatned to hang a Pad-lock on the Lords door; and ſending up to ſearch their journal Book, they found the Lords had made theſe two Votes: *That they* do not *Concur to the ſaid* declaratory Vote. And Secondly, That *they rejected the Ordinance* for *the Tryal of the King*. Upon which theſe men reſolving to be rid of the Lords, as well as of King, they Vote, That *they ſhould Act without* them, (as well they might, according to their own Law) That *all Authority was founded in the* People, and *that they being* the *Repreſentatives* of the People, *all Authority lay in* them. Some of them were for Impeaching the Lords, for favouring the grand Delinquent of the Land, as they called the King. And now to make all ſure on their ſides, that they may Act legally, On the 4*th.* of *January* they Vote; *That the People are, under God, the Original of all juſt Power.* That *the Commons* of England *in Parliament aſſembled, being choſen by,* and *repreſenting* the *People*, have the *Supreme Power of this Nation. That whatſoever* is declared or *Enacted* for Law, by *the Houſe of Commons aſſembled in Parliament, hath the force of Law.* This makes clear Work, and by this our Arbitrary Uſurpers may do what they will, and cut off their Kings Head according to their own Poſition, legally; what need of Kings, Lords, Laws, Rights, Liberties, Properties, or fundamental Government, when the Arbitrary Conſciences of ſuch men, may ſerve inſtead of all, and conclude thereby all the People of *England*, tho they declare againſt it, and tho oppoſed by the King or Houſe of Peers? And thus, notwithſtanding the rejection of the Lords, theſe Commons paſs their Ordinance, and declaratory Vote by the name of An Act of Parliament of the Houſe of Commons (which was never before heard of) for the Tryal of *Charles Stewart*, King of *England*. This being objected to *Hugh Peters*, that there was no Preſident or Example, for the Tryal of

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a King, by a judicial Court, he Prophanely applyed: That there was never any Preſident before the *Virgin Mary*, of a Womans conceiving and bringing forth a Child, without accompanying with a Man, therefore they might walk without Preſident, for this was an Age to make Examples and Preſidents.

There was yet one thing that paſſed theſe men, which they had not foreſeen, which was, That it was a very improper thing, to make uſe of the Kings Seal, wherein he is ſtyled King of *England*, &c. by *the Grace of God*; to ſeal a Commiſſion againſt him for his Tryal. They were now in haſt, and could not ſtay for a new one, which they had not as yet thought on, therefore it was concluded, the Commiſſioners ſhould proceed upon the Ordinance, without any Commiſſion under Seal, and that every Commiſſioner ſhould ſet his own Hand and Seal, to the Inſtruments of their Proceedings. All things being now in a readineſs for the Tryal, The King is taken from *Hurſt* Caſtle, and brought to *Winchester*, thence to *Farnham*, thence to *Winſor*, and thence to St. *James*, on the 19*th*. day of *January*. And they had cauſed for the greater Solemnity of the Buſineſs, their Serjeant *Dandy*, who was appointed Serjeant at Arms to the Commiſſioners, for the Tryal of his Majeſty, to proclaim it openly in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, with his Mace on Horſe back, with ſix Trumpets and ſeveral Officers attending, all bare, That the Commiſſioners were to ſit to morrow, and that all thoſe, who had any thing to ſay, againſt *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, might be heard. This was done in like manner in *Cheap-ſide*, and at the *Royal Exchange*. The ſame day the Houſe Voted their great Seal to be broken, and ordered a new one to be made.

Upon this Mr. *Prin*, ſends to the *Junto* a *Memento*, of their unpreſidented Proceedings, Complaining of the force and Violence put upon their fellow Members, warning them from Acting, Conſulting, or ordaining any Act or Ordinance without Concurrence of their fellow-Members, being Arbitrary and againſt Law, and

That the ſecluded Members, not only declared againſt ſuch Proceedings, but more eſpecially againſt this horrid Act of theirs for the Tryal of the King, ſhewing them, That by the common Law, and by the Statute of 25. *Ed.* 3. and all other Acts concerning Treaſon it is high Treaſon for any man to Compaſs or Contrive the Death of the King, or his eldeſt Son, tho never Executed: That they were alſo bound to the Contrary, by their Oath of All glance, from which no Power could abſolve them. That they had in above an hundred Declarations and Ordinances, in the name of the Parliament profeſſed; That they never intended the leaſt hurt, injury, or Violence to the Kings perſon, his Crown, Dignity, or Poſterity, with ſeveral other things, very preſſing and full, as may be ſeen at large in the printed Paper: but all was in vain, for they were reſolved on the Buſineſs; tho they could give no kind of colourable Reaſon for their Actings. This *Memento* was ſeconded with a Declaration and Proteſtation, ſigned the 19*th.* of *January*, by the ſaid *Prin* and *Clement Walker*, another of the ſecluded Members, which ran very much after the ſame Tenure, and abſolutely Proteſting againſt the *Junto*'s Actings and Proceedings, declared againſt the illegal Act of Erecting an high Court of Juſtice, and uſurping a Power againſt all Law, and without all Preſident, to try, depoſe, and bring to Capital puniſhment, the King, and to diſ-inherit his Poſterity, &c. But at the ſame time the Officers of the Army, had contrived and ordered two Godly Petitions, to be preſented to them, *viz:* For *the aboliſhing* Tythes, and the *Repealing the Act for the Baniſhment of the Jews.*

And now *Oliver* and his *Privado* Officers, having brought their Work to this readineſs, are faſting and praying as hard as they can, no doubt for the Succeſs of it, tho they put another Face on the matter, and ſaid, it was for Direction and Counſel. And now it was, and not before, that this great Uſurper of the *Monarchy*, and Liberties of the people, began to lay the great

great Deſign of ſteping into the Soveraignty, and laying the Foundation of his Tyrannical reign, by the Death and Murther of the King; For the private Officers, both from the King, and his Friends, and from the Prince himſelf, in this exigent, to ſave the Life of his Father, were not ſmall; but he that now aimed at all, would not be content with a portion of juſtly acquired greatneſs, and perhaps he was not ſufficiently aſſured of the Mercy of the Prince he had ſo highly offended, as that he could be able to forgive all thoſe great Crimes he was guilty of; but that either himſelf, or his Poſterity might remember them to his Prejudice, ſince all he was able to do towards his Majeſties Reſtauration, was but what in Duty and Conſcience he was bound to do. But what ever inſtigations he had, beſides thoſe of the Devil, he was not to be ſhaken, tho attempted by a Kinsman of his, and of his own Name, who (as reported) was ſent either from the Prince himſelf, then at the *Hague*, *or* from the States of *Holland*, with Credential Letters, and a Blank ſealed with the Kings and Princes Signets, and confirmed by the States, for *Cromwell* to write his own Conditions in, if he would preſerve the Life of the King. This found him at his Houſe recluſe, with his *Privadoes* at their Prayers, (as given out) but to what God we may eaſily Imagine. The buſineſs being urgent, and the Kings Martyrdom approaching, the Gentleman with ſome difficulty got to the private Speech of him, to whom he very fully laid open the Hainouſneſs of the Fact he was going about, and what an *Odium* it was about to caſt on the *Engliſh* Nation abroad, and withal let him underſtand what Terms he had to offer him, and that he might now make himſelf, his Family, and Poſterity for ever happy and Honourable; otherwiſe he would bring ſuch an Ignoimny on the whole Generation, that no time would be able to delete: *Cromwell* after his canting way,

He was to have been made Earl of *Eſſex* and Knight of the Garter; his Son of the Bedchamber to the Prince; *Ireton* Lord Lievtenant of *Ireland*.

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ſhifted it off from himſelf, and put the Act upon the Army and Parliament, declaring he had ſought God very much in the Buſineſs, but as yet had no return of his Faſting and Prayers about it, therefore he deſired till night to conſider of it, and promiſed that he ſhould hear from him before he went to Bed; and accordingly, about Twelve or One of the Clock, the Gentleman expecting his Anſwer, he ſent him word, That he might return, for he and his Officers had been ſeeking God, and that now it was Reſolved, the King muſt dye: this was but a night or two before the King's Murther.

On the 20*th.* day of *January*, 1648. being *Saturday*, theſe bloody Commiſſioners met, called an high Court of Juſtice, for the Tryal of the King, who was brought before them, and with much Patience, and ſometimes ſmiling, he heard their long Charge; but denying the Jurisdiction of the Court, refuſed to plead, requiring them to ſhew by what Law or Authority, beſides their unjuſt Uſurpation, or power of the Sword, he was brought before them who were his Subjects. I ſhall not trouble the Reader with any farther Relation of this Tryal, it being at large ſo often printed; nor with the Names of the Judges and Officers of this pretended Court. it being to be had in every Bookſellers ſhop: I intending in theſe Collections only a brief Narrative of theſe Uſurpers Proceedings, that the World might behold the true Picture of Arbitrary Government, and Tyrannical rule; and not an exact Chronicle or Hiſtory of thoſe times, tho I would not omit any Material thing that may give Satisfaction or Delight to the Reader. I ſhall obſerve that as an ill Omen, the Silver head of the King's Staff dropt off, as the Charge was reading, which the King wondring at and ſeeing none ſo Officious as to take it up, he ſtoop'd himſelf and taking it up put it into his Pocket. At his going from the Court looking very auſterely about him without moving his Hat, he pointed with his Staff to the Sword, and ſaid; I do not fear that. As he went along the Hall ſome Cry'd out Juſtice, Juſtice, and others, God ſave the King.

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On Sunday, *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, and the reſt of the Commiſſioners kept a Faſt at *White-Hall*, where preached *Joſhuah Sprigg*, whoſe Text was, *He* that *ſheds Man's blood by Man ſhall his Blood be ſhed.* Then Mr. *Foxley*, whoſe Text was, *Judge not leſt you be Judged.* Laſtly, *Hugh Peters* whoſe Text was: I will *Bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.* And thus by their wicked application of the word of God, they endeavoured to juſtifie their moſt Execrable Murther of their Lawful King. There was by ſome, who durſt to do any thing againſt theſe Cruel and powerful men, certain Papers ſcattered about, in which were ſeveral Queries; as, Whether a King of three Kingdoms, could be Condemned by one Kingdom alone, without the Conſent or Concurrence of the other Kingdoms? Whether a King if try'd, ought not to be try'd by his Peers? And whether he could be ſaid to have any ſuch in his Kingdom? Whether if a King were Tryable, he ought not to be tryed in full Parliament, of Lords and Commons? Whether the 8*th.* part of the Members of the Commons meeting in the Houſe, under the force of the Army, the reſt being forcibly reſtrained from ſitting, can by any Pretext of Law or Juſtice erect a Court for the Tryal of the King? And whether this could be properly called a Court of Juſtice, without the great Seal of *England*? Whether that thoſe men who by ſeveral Remonſtrances, Speeches, and Actions, have publickly declared themſelves Enemies to the King, can either in Law or Conſcience be his Judges, when it is Exception enough for the baſeſt Felon to any Jury-man, to hinder him from being his Judge? Whether this moſt illegal and Arbitrary Tryal of the King, by an high Court of Juſtice, may not prove a moſt Dangerous inlet, to abſolute Tyranny, and bloody Butchery, and every mans Life be at the Arbitrary will of his Enemies, erected into a Court of Conſcience without limits or bounds?

But words are nothing, and theſe paper Arms, tho furniſhed with the higheſt Reaſon, could not move theſe obdurate Men, who perſiſted in their bloody Buſineſs, driven

driven on by the ſecret and forcible Machinations of *Oliver* and his Cabal. The ſecond day being Monday the 22*d.* of *January*, the Court met again, and the Solicitor *Cook* urged extreamly for judgment againſt the Priſoner, unleſs he would own the Authority of the Court; which the King conſtantly denyed to do, and offered his reaſons againſt them, but they would not be heard. The 3*d.* day, being *January* 23*d.* the King was brought again before the Court, who had in the Painted Chamber the day before, Reſolved, That the King ſhould not be ſuffered to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, and had ordered, That in caſe he offer'd to diſpute the Authority of the Court, that the Preſident ſhould let him know that he ought to reſt ſatisfied with this Anſwer: That the Commons of England *aſſembled in Parliament, have Conſtituted this Court, whoſe Power may not, nor ſhould be permitted, to be diſputed by him.* And that in caſe he ſhould refuſe to anſwer, or acknowledge the Court, the Lord Preſident ſhould let him know, his Contumacy ſhould be recorded. But the King ſtill perſiſted in the denyal of their Authority, upon which the Clark reads, *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, you are accuſed in the behalf of the Commons of *England*, of divers high Crimes and Treaſons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your poſitive and final Anſwer, by way of Confeſſion or denial of the Charge. But the King told them he could not acknowledge a new Court, ſet up contrary to the Priviledges of the People, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Land. The 4*th.* and laſt day was the 27*th.* of *January*, 1648. where appeared about fifty ſix of thoſe Commiſſioners, who ſate when judgment was given againſt the King by their Preſident *Bradſhaw*. But the King having moved to be heard, before the Lords and Commons, in the painted Chamber, promiſing after that to abide the judgement of the Court, they withdrew for half an hour, and returning, they told the King This was but another denial of the Courts jurisdiction, and therefore if he had no more to ſay, they would proceed to Judgement. Upon

on this, after *Bradſhaw* had made a long Speech, endeavouring to juſtifie their Proceedings on this falſe point: *That the People are the ſupream Power*, whom *the Commons repreſented*, he commanded the Clark to read the Sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment, in theſe words. 'Whereas the Commons of *England* in Parliament, have 'appointed them an High Court of Juſtice, for the try-'ing of *Charles Stewart* King of *England*, before whom 'he had been three times convented, and the firſt time 'a Charge of high Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſ-'demeanors was read, in the behalf of the Kingdom of '*England*, &c. Here the Charge at length was read, af-'ter which the Clark proceeds, which Charge being 'read unto him, as aforeſaid, He the ſaid *Charles Stewart* 'was required to give his Anſwer, but he refuſed ſo to 'do: For all which Treaſons and Crimes, this Court 'doth adjudge, the ſaid *Charles Stewart*, as a Tyrant, 'Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy, ſhall be 'put to Death, by the ſevering his Head from his Body.

After this wicked Sentence paſſed by theſe Miſcreants, the King was had away to Sr. *Robert Cotten*'s, and thence to St. *James*'s, the rude Soldiers in his paſſage by them blowing Tobacco in his Face, and one ſpit on it, which he wiped off with his Hand-kerchief without taking notice of it. But when he heard ſome of them to Cry out *Juſtice*, *Juſtice*, he ſaid, alas! Poor Souls, for a piece of Money, they will do as much for their Commanders. On the 29*th*. a Committee met in the painted Chamber, to conſider on the time and place of the Kings death, which they ordered to be the next day, before his own Palace Gate, which was approved of by the Commiſſioners, and a Warrant Signed and Sealed, by them directed, to *Hicker*, *Hunts*, and *Phare*, and order that *Marſhal*, *Nye*, *Caryl*, *Salway*, and *Dell*, ſhould attend on his Majeſty, and to adminiſter to him ſpiritual help; but the King would not be troubled with them, and at his deſire, Doctor *Juxon* Biſhop of *London* was admitted to Pray with him in private, in his Chamber, and to adminiſter to him the Sacrament, and his Chil-

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dren permitted to come to see him. But *John Godwin* was also sent to be an over-looker of their Actions. In the mean time, the *Junto* Pen a Proclamation, which they afterwards caused to be published, making it high Treason for any man, to proclaim or publish *Charles Stewart*, the Son, to be rightful Heir and Successor to the Crown of *England* after his Fathers death, or any other of that Line King of *England:* and that no man under Pain of imprisonment, or other Arbitrary punishment, which they should think fit to inflict, shall Preach, Write, or speak any thing, contrary to the present Proceedings of the supream Authority of this Nation, the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.

The Sunday before the King dyed, it is reported, that some of the chief of the Army and Parliament, tendred the King a paper to sign with promise of Life, and some shew of a King, the Power being wholly invested on themselves, and was Destructive to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, to the Religion established, to the Liberties and Properties of the People; one Proposition whereof was, To continue the Power of the Sword to the Army, and to have as a standing Force, under the same general Officers, forty Thousand Horse and Foot; they to have the Choice of their own Officers among themselves, by a Councel of War, and to settle a constant Tax upon the People, by way of a Land rate, for the payment of the said Army, and to be collected and levyed by themselves; and a Court martial to be Erected of an exorbitant Extent and Latitude. But his Majesty, disdaining to read them all, flung them aside, and told them, He should rather become a Sacrifice for his People, and dye by their Hands, than so to betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Estates, the Church and Honour of his Crown, and so to make all Slaves to the Arbitrary Will, and Tyranny of an Army! O Glorious Prince! Oh height of Impudence of armed Arbitrariness!

See yet how they proceed, on the 29*th.* of *January*, the

the *Junto* Vote, *That it be enacted* by this present *Parliament*, and by *the Authority of the same*, That in *all Courts of Law*, *Justice*, Equity, *and in all Writs*, *Grants*, *Patents*, Commissions, *Inditements*, Informations, *Suits*, Returns *of* Writs, *Fines*, *Recoveries*, *Exemplifications*, *Recognizances*, *Processes*, and *Proceedings at Law*, &c. *within* the Kingdom of England and Ireland and *Dominion* of Wales, *&c.* *Instead* of the *Name*, *Style*, *or Title* of King *heretofore used*, should *thence forward* be used, and *no other* than *the Name*, Style, or Title, *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ*, *Authoritate Parliamenti*; The keepers of the Liberty of *England* by Authority of Parliament; *and the date of the Year of* our *Lord*, *and no other*; and instead of *Juratores pro Domino Rege*, shall be used *Juratores pro republica: and so*, Contra pacem dignitatem & Coronam nostram, *should be turned into* Contra pacem publicam. *All judges*, *Justices*, *Ministers*, *and Officers* to take *Notice* thereof, and *that whatever should* be done *Contrary* to this Act hence *forward*, *should be declared null*, *and void in* Law, the Death *of the* King, *or any usage*, *Law*, *Custom &c.* *to the Contrary.*

The King after his Sentence, was lodg'd in *White-Hall*, and the little time they gave him to prepare himself, he was disturb'd with the noise of his rude Guards, filling all the Rooms with the smoak of their Tobacco, a thing extreamly offensive to him, and they Rung in his Ears the clincking of Pots, and such like Noises; and not only so, but he lay so near the place where he was to Dye, that he could hear every stroke of the Hammers of those Workmen, that were erecting the Scaffold, and working all night: all which Barbarity was to mortifie him, but that would not bring him to their Bent: On Munday he was removed to St. *James*'s, whence he came the next day on Foot thorow the Park, to suffer his Martyrdom.

And now on the 30*th*. of *January*, 1648. was Acted the most unheard of Tragedy, that ever was Committed, and not to be parallel'd in History, in any Countrey. A King convented, and Tryed, openly in a Court of unlawful

lawful Judicatory, as a Capital Criminal, by the meanest of his Subjects, under pretence of Law, and then publickly Executed on a Scaffold in the face of the Sun and the People, before his own Palace; by the hand of the common Hangman (as it hath since appeared) is so strange a thing, that it will be the Admiration of succeeding Ages, as well as it hath been of our own, and I think, a most notable Display of *Arbitrary usurpation*: For tho we have had some of our Kings murthered in our Land, yet there was some modesty shewed in their Assassination, in that it was done Privately, aud Acted by great Persons laying claim to, or Ambitioning the Crown; nay, they were so Cautious, as in the Murthers of *Edward* the second, and *Richard* the second, First to depose them, and to take away their Crowns, or making them to resign them by their own Acts, becoming thereby private men, accounting them else Sacred to be murthered; but thus I say, to be publickly put to Death, under the Colour of Law and Justice, and to justifie such a bloody Perpetration to the World as a legal Act, being so palpable against all Laws both Divine and Humane, was a thing never to be found in any Age, or in any story. I shall say no more of it, his Majesties Speech and all the fatal Transactions of that Tragedy, being Printed at large; only I shall take notice, that this Royal Martyr, with much Constancy, Courage, and Resolution lai'd his Head on the Block, and suffered under the Ax, in refusing to acknowledge the Authority of these bloody Usurpers to be legal, and because he would not betray the Liberties, Lives, and Properties of his people to an unjust and usurping Tyrannical Government.

Even whilst he was on the Scaffold, he was pittied by some of his Persecutors, the Officers of the Army, which *Cromwell* perceiving, he begun to play with them his usual jugling Tricks, and made them believe that he would consult with them, concerning the saving of the Kings Life; Seeming to pitty him himself, and blaming him for being Obstinate, in not adhering to their Propositions, feigning

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Reluctancy for his Death, and therefore told them, He should be very glad if it might be effected with the safety of the Kingdom; tho what was done, was by the Authority of the Parliament, yet he feared the *Odium* might be cast on them; but says he, before we proceed in this weighty Matter, let us seek God; to which they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded Prayer, which lasted so long, till News was brought them, that the King was Executed, which several not suspecting, were surprized and amazed, but *Cromwell* holding up his Hands told them, he now saw clearly, that it was not the will of God that the King should live, and therefore he was afraid they had done ill to tempt God to desire it.

This was the end of his Majesty *Charles* the *First*, and now all the world believed, as most legally they might, that this *Parliament* was dissolved of Course, by the Death of the King; by what Authority now can they pretend to sit and Act? Even by the same unjust Power of the Sword, whereby they had committed so many illegal Acts, contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Land; as now in continuing themselves a *Parliament*, was against the most ancient Constitutions of *Parliaments*. But they lay hold of the *Act*, of 17. *Car.* 1. for the Continuance of this *Parliament*: In which these words Were: And be it *declared and Enacted by the* King *our Soveraign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present* Parliament *assembled*, and *by the Authority of the* same, *that this present* Parliament *now assembled, shall* not *be dissolved, unless by Act of Parliament*, to *be passed for* that *Purpose*. Therefore they declared, and believe, that they are still a *Parliament*, and are not Dissolved by the Kings Death, because not dissolved by *an Act of Parliament*. But it was answered, that it was, and ever hath been, the undoubted Prerogative of the King, to Call and Dissolve Parliaments, and that an Act for their Perpetuation, was a taking away one of the chiefest Flowers in the imperial Crown of *England*, which the King could not grant, and give away, tho with consent of both Houses. But this Act was palpably against the

the King's inclination, being as it were forced to it by some Heady, violent, and turbulent Men. But that Perpetuation or Extention of it beyond the Kings Death was never then thought of, is moſt plain by the Preamble of the ſaid Act, where it is expreſſed, That by reaſon of great Sums of Money, of neceſſity to be advanced, for the ſpeedy relief of his Majeſties Army and People, in the northern parts of the Realm, and that Credit might be had for the raiſing ſuch Monies, and to take away the Fears and Jealouſies of any that ſhould lend ſuch Monies upon their Credit, that this Parliament ſhouldnot be Prorogued or Diſſolved, before Juſtice be done on Delinquents,and publick Grievances redreſſed,it was Enacted, &c: *That they ſhould not be Diſſolved, but* by *an Act of Parliament*; ſo that by the very end and Scope of this Act, there could not be thought to be any Perpetuation of this Parliament: or that they ſhould not be Diſſolved by the Kings death: For elſe, certainly they would have inſerted the like ſpecial Clauſe, as, *That this Parliament ſhall not be Diſſolved by his Majeſties death, but only by Act of* Parliament. But that the *Parliament* was Diſſolved *Ipſo facto*, by the Kings death, being called by his Writ, to confer with him as his Parliament, *Arduis negotiis*, or about urgent Affairs, was Reſolued, 1 *Hen.* 4. Rot. *Parl. n.* 14. 14. *Hen.* 4. *Cook*, 4*th. Inſtitut. p.* 46. &c. For it is not natural to ſuppoſe, and impoſſible, That the Lords and Commons ſhould be a Parliament, and make Acts and Laws without the King, as for a Body to move and Act without an Head; and therefore, had there been any ſuch thing intended to have been Enacted, it was void, becauſe impoſſible; for the Kings Royal aſſent could not be had after his Death, and there is no Clauſe in the Act that obliges his Succeſſor to Conſent, which clearly ſhews they never had any ſuch intention,at the making of this Act. And therefore on the death of the King all Commiſſions both of the Judges and others ceaſe, and all Proceedings determined, tho the King is ſaid to ſit in the Court of the Kings-Bench in his politick Capacity, which

which indeed never dyes ſo as to cauſe an *Interregnum*, but other wayes as to the Continuance of Commiſſions, Writs &c. which muſt be renewed. Conſider alſo, that if theſe men after the Death of the King, could be a Parliament, they muſt be ſo either by the Common Law and Cuſtom of Parliaments, which is clearly againſt them, or by this Statute which as little Countenances them, for they would then be another thing, diſtinct from the Parliament which was ſummoned in the Kings Life; for the Country had no Power to elect their Repreſentatives, but by the King's Writ, and therefore could receive no more Power from them, than the Tenour of the Kings Writ granted, which determining with the Kings Life, their Repreſentative-Power was alſo determined, and by Conſequence, they could be no longer a Parliament. If it could be thought they could be yet ſo, by that Act, then it follows, That a Parliament by their Act might create another Parliament, to *exiſt* after themſelves were diſſolved, which is moſt abſur'd, and alters the Root and Foundation of all the Liberties of the Subject; for they become no longer their Repreſentatives, but a Parliament by their own Act; and it will never be thought that the people intended to entruſt them with their Authority, to change the Government, and deprive them of their Fundamental Priviledges. The Parliament cannot *De jure* do any thing againſt natural Equity, *quia jura naturæ ſunt immutabilia*. And alſo by the judgement of a Parliament this could not be, being againſt the Law and Cuſtom of Parliament, for *Ro. Parl.* 42. *E.* 3. no 7. it is declared, by the Lords and Commons in full Parliament, upon demand made of them, in the behalf of the King, *That they* could not aſſent to any thing in Parliament, *that tended to the* Diſheriſion of the King and his *Crown, to which they were Sworn.* Now this Act of the 17*th.* of *Caroli Primi*, is expreſly againſt the Kings Succeſſors Prerogative, to call his own Parliament, and therefore they could not make ſuch an Act, to the Diſheriſion of his King and Crown. A *Parliament* may

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be three ways Diſſolved, by the Declaration of the Kings pleaſure, or for want of entring their Continuances, or by the Kings death, whereby the Kings Writ, which gives them their Authority, is determined. Theſe words, That *this Parliament ſhall not* be *Diſſolved, unleſs by Act of Parliament*, is *a general Negative, which cannot extend to all Cauſes* of Diſſolution, but have a reſpect only to that moſt uſually hapning, the Pleaſure of the King, till the pretended Grievances of the time were ſatisfied. Now in all Times, the judges have excepted particular Caſes out of the general Negative, or Affirmative Words of Statutes. By the Stat. of *Magna Charta* C. 11. 'Tis enacted, That *Common pleas ſhall not follow* or *be ſued in the Kings-Bench*, which is a general Negative, yet it is holden to be clear in Law, That the King is not within theſe general Words, and may ſue in his Bench, or any other Court at his Pleaſure. The Statute of *Winchester* is a general Statute, *That the Hundred*, &c. *ſhall make Satisfaction for all Robberies and Fellonies, within the Hundred*, yet it is Reſolved, That the Hundreds ſhall make no Satisfaction for the Robberies of an Houſe, becauſe the Houſe was the owners Caſtle, and he might have defended himſelf, and preſerved his Goods. Beſides this Clauſe in the ſaid Act, That *all and every thing done, or to be done*, for the *Proroguing or Diſſolving of this preſent Parliament, contrary to this preſent Act, ſhall be utterly voyd and of none Effect*: By which it appears, That the cauſe of Diſſolution, which they intended to prevent, was ſomething that ſhould conſiſt in Action, by the words, Thing or Things done, or to be done; which words can only be applicable to an Actual diſſolution by the Kings pleaſure: And the King's death, is not a thing done, but a Ceſſation of his perſonal being, and of the Dependants thereupon: Aud is not an Action, but a Termination or Period. So that it is moſt Clear, theſe men could no longer by any the leaſt Colour of Law or Reaſon, pretend to ſit and Act as a *Parliament*. But alas! What are Arguments to them, who had uſurp'd the Throne and

Power

Power of their Soveraign? and had the vain and idle Hopes to keep it? And to the ſtrengthening themſelves, with all the Arbitrary and Tyrannical ways imaginable, they proceed.

Firſt, they iſſue out their ſpurious Act before mentioned, againſt proclaiming the King, tho by the Law of the Land, inſtantly upon the King's deceaſe, the imperial Crown of the Kingdom of *England*, was by his inherent Birthright, and by an undoubted Succeſſion and Deſcent, Actually veſted in our now Soveraign, eldeſt Son to the murthered King, and next Heir of the Blood to his Royal Father, and that before any Ceremony of Coronation, as by Statt. of 1. *Jacobi* Ch. 1. And that all Peers of the Realm, Majors, Sheriffs, and other chief Officers in all the Cities and Corporations of *England*, are oblig'd by their places, and Allegiance, to proclaim him under pain of High Treaſon, and forfeiting their City and Corporation Charters. And notwithſtanding the *Junto*'s Prohibition, there were ſeveral Proclamations printed and ſcatter'd about the City, which proclaimed and aſſerted the Right of the Prince, as next Heir to the Crown, and by Birthright to be the lawful King of Great *Britain*, &c. Dated the 1*ſt*. of *February*. Then alſo in like manner was privately ſcatter'd about, another Paper, in which were four Propoſitions briefly declaring: That the Houſe of Commons had no Power of themſelves alone, and without the Concurrance of the King and Houſe of Lords, to make any Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or to impoſe any Tax, Oath, Forfeiture, or Capital Puniſhment, on any. Secondly, That the few Members now ſitting, were no Court of Juſtice in themſelves, and could Erect no ſuch Court for the Tryal of any perſon, nor had Power to hear and determine any Civil or Criminal Cauſes, and that all Acts, by Pretext of ſuch Power, were illegal, and the adjudging any Perſon to death, and Executing them was Treaſon, and wilful Murther. Thirdly, That the ſaid Commons had no power to make any great Seal of *England*, and that all Commiſſions granted under their great Seal, were

were illegal, and all Proceedings in Law upon ſuch Writs null and voyd, to all intents and purpoſes. Laſtly, That the denyal of the King's Title to the Crown, and the plotting to deprive him of it, and the ſetting it upon the Head of another, was High Treaſon, and within the *Stat.* 25*th. Ed.* 3. *Ch.* 2. as likewiſe their Subverting the fundamental Laws of the Land, and introducing an *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical Government*, was High Treaſon at the common Law, &c.

This was all the Loyaliſts could do at preſent, by theſe weak Indeavours, to aſſert the Kings right, and ſhew the people what Slaves they were become, but this affrighted not theſe Men, who in the next place, *February* 1*ſt.* Vote, *That all ſuch Members* who *aſſented to the Vote of the* 5*th.* of *December* 1648. That the *Kings Conceſſions were a* Ground for *the Houſe to Proceed to a Settlement, ſhould* not be *admitted into the Houſe, until they had declared their diſapproval of that Vote*, before *they ſit*, and *that ſuch* as *were now in* the *Houſe, ſhould enter their diſſent to that Vote*, being only thoſe who had before Voted in the Negative.

The Lords were yet ſitting, but no notice taken of them by the Commons, for having overthrown the Monarchy, they now lay aſide the Lords, and therefore Vote them dangerous and uſeleſs, *February* 5*th.* and ſo Voted them down, with this Proviſo, That they might be capable to be Elected Knights of the ſhire, and Burgeſſes, and ſo ſit among the Commons. Three of them only ſo debaſed themſelves, *viz.* The Earls of *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, and the *Lord Howard* of *Eſtrick*. The reſt of the Peers, put forth their Proteſtation againſt theſe Proceedings, of the Commons; which came forth on the 8*th.* of *February*, in which they aſſerted their own Priviledges, and the fundamental Laws of the Nation, diſclaiming the Votes of the Commons, for Erecting an high Court of Juſtice, for the Tryal of the King, and altering the Governmenr, Law, Seal, &c. and againſt their Traiterous murthering their Soveraign, and diſinheriting the Prince, the Lawful Heir of the Crown

Crown of *England*, and alſo proteſting againſt their Vote of the 6*th*. of *Frebruary*, for the aboliſhing the Houſe of Peers, as deſtructive to the beings of Parliament, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the people, whom they had made Slaves to their Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government.

But this affrights not the Commons, and to keep the Lords from meeting, the Army ſet a Guard at their Doors of their Houſe, and the Houſe now proceeds to ſet up a Common-wealth, and to aboliſh Monarchy; and therefore they formed an Act intituled, an *Act for the Exheredation* of *the Royal Line*, the *aboliſhing of Monarchy* in *this Kingdom*, and the *ſetting up a Common-wealth*, which they ordered to be publiſhed in all places. And to Vindicate theſe their moſt horrid Proceedings, they had their Pulpit-Trumpeters, who juſtified their Impious Acts in all places: and *John Godwin* and *Milton*, to write in their Defence of putting the King to death, declaring in Print, That the King ſuffered on juſt Grounds, and according to his Demerits. And now inſtead of one King, theſe *Common-wealth Rumpers* ſet up forty Tyrants, as a Committee of State. But the people generally ſeemed diſpleaſed at this Alteration of the Government, and *Reineldſon* Lord Major of the City refuſed to publiſh their Act for aboliſhing of Monarchy, for which he was diſcharged of his Office, and with two Aldermen ſent to the Tower, and *Andrews* was choſen in his ſtead; upon this the *Rumpers* put forth a new Declaration, to juſtifie their Proceedings, calling them, A Deliverance of the people from the Bondage that was brought in by the *Norman* Conqueſt, and their Maintenance of the ancient Laws, notwithſtanding their Alteration of ſome forms of the Regality, which ancient Laws might conſiſt very well with a *Republick*, and that they had only aboliſhed their Abuſes, promiſing to eſtabliſh a ſafe and firm Peace, and to advance the true Proteſtant Religion, the Encouragment of a Godly miniſtry, and of Trade, and the Maintenance of the Poor

thorowout the Realm. Then their Great Seal came forth, having on one ſide a Croſs and Harp, for the Arms of *England* and *Ireland*, with this Inſcription: *The Great Seal of England.* And on the other ſide, was the Picture of the Commons, with theſe words: *In the firſt year of Freedom* by *God's bleſſing reſtored*, 1648. Likewiſe they cauſed a new Coyn to be minted, and ſtamped their Money with a Croſs and Harp, inſtead of the King's Effigies, with this Motto: *God with us.* Then they took away all Clauſes in any former Acts, for the taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and made them null, and a new Oath framed and tendred to all that were to have any publick place of Truſt, and aſſumed to themſelves both Judicial and Legiſlative power of the King, and both Houſes of Parliament, and the Executive power they committed to a Council of State of forty Perſons, of the moſt Active men in the Army, and others of deſperate Fortunes.

Six of the Judges, *viz.* Juſtice *Bacon*, *Brown*, *Beddinfield*, *Creſwell*, *Trevor*, and *Atkins*, quitted their places, not being able to bring their Conſciences to Act under this Arbitrary and illegal power; ſix other of them continued, who were Juſtice *Rolls*, St. *Johns*, *Pheaſant*, Baron *Wild*, and Baron *Yates*.

To their new Council of State, they gave Power to Command, and ſettle the Militia of *England*, and *Ireland*: Power to ſet forth Ships, and ſuch a Conſiderable Navy as they ſhould think fit. Power to appoint Magiſtrates and ſtores for *England* and *Ireland*; and to diſpoſe of them for the Service of the Nation. And power to Execute all the powers given them for an whole Year to come. They had two Seals appointed, a great Seal and a Signet: *Cromwell* was made Chairman of this Committee, and an Oath framed for every Member to take, to be true to the Parliament, (as they termed themſelves) not to diſcloſe their Secrets, and to adhere to the preſent Settlement of the Government as a Republick without King or Houſe of Lords. About this time the Officers of the Army at a Council

of

of War, debated, Whether they ſhould not put to the Sword all that were of the King's Party, to ſecure the Nation to themſelves, and it was carried in the Negative, but by two voyces, ſo near were they to a general Maſſacre. And many Petitions came from ſeveral Counties, that at leaſt three of the moſt eminent of the King's party, in each County, might be put to Death; to free the Land from Blood-Guiltineſs.

Cromwell by this, as you may perceive, had gotten all the executive Power of the Kingdom into his own Hand, and into the hands of his own Creatures of the Councel of State, altogether ruled by him, and therefore it may be wondred at, that he did not immediately ſeize the Crown, and ſet himſelf in the Throne, which he now aſpired to: But things were not yet ripe, and the ſubtil Fox found ſuch a Levelling party in the Army, which he ſaw muſt firſt be Cruſhed, who would never indure it; for they were for dividing and ſharing all, as a Land ſubdued by them among themſelves, and for owning no Authority but the Saints, who were themſelves. Theſe begin to rip up the Miſcarriages of the Parliament; and *Cromwell*, to make them the more Odious, puts them upon all Things he believed would make them ſo to the People and Army. One of which was, the new Erection of their moſt Tyrannical Court of *Juſtice*, for the Tryal of ſome of the Lords and others, whom they had ſtill impriſoned for their Loyalty. The firſt was Duke *Hamilton*, who had invaded *England* as you have heard; with him they at firſt deal gently, hoping to have ſcrew'd out of him the Names of ſome Eminent men in *England*, that they thought might have invited him in. But he either not able or willing in that point to give them Satisfaction, and finding the *Scots* and *Argile*'s party to hate him, and to deſire his Head, he was Condemned, tho he pleaded he had Quarter given him by *Lambert* upon Articles, and would have given a hundred Thouſand pound to ſave his Life. After him was alſo tryed and Condemned the Earl of *Holland*, and that moſt Noble and Heroick Peer the Lord *Capel*, who

had escaped out of the Tower, but was retaken by means of a perfidious Water-man, ever after hated for it. He pleaded Articles of surrender, but that was denyed him: then he pleaded to be tryed at Common-Law, put them in mind of *Magna Charta*, Petition of right, and of the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and that of right he ought to be tryed by his Peers, urging them to shew a President of any such Tryal by an Arbitrary Court of Justice, as they called it. He talk'd to deaf Statues, for he was too gallant a Man, and too Active, and Loyal, to be permitted to Live. On the 9th. of *March* these three Lords Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and this Noble Lord much lamented were put to Death, on a Scaffold in the Pallace-yard in *Westminster*, by severing their Heads from their Bodies. It is remarkable that this Lord dyed with much Courage and Christianity, being nothing daunted at Death. The Earl of *Norwich* and Sr. *John Owen* were pardoned, by Vote of the House, the Earl of *Norwich* having his Life by the casting Voyce of *Lenthal* the Speaker only.

Thus they proceed dipping their hands in Blood, growing thereby more Odious to the People, and about this time the *Scots* begin to stir, and made a Protest against the Actions of the Parliament of *England*; and on the third of *February* proclaim the King by the name of *Charles* the second at *Edenborough*; by *Lyon* King at Arms. The *Scotch* Commissioners who had been long here, were called home, and at their departure, they left an Expostulary Declaration, putting the *Junto* in mind of all their Vows and Oaths, in maintenance of the Kings Rights and defence of his Person, and upbraided them with their shameful Abjuration and Infringment of them, by their late horrid Proceedings. This paper they Vote Scandalous and Seditious, imprison the Messenger who brought it, and sending after the Commissioners secure them, till the Parliament in *Scotland* send to justifie the Action, and require their Commissioners, being imprisoned Contrary to the Law of Nations, upon which they were permitted to depart into *Scotland*, and thus Jealousies of a breach began.

Troublesome *John Lilburn*, an Active Leveller began now

now to ſtir, delivering a Petition in the Names of many Thouſand well affected, &c. with a Book intituled *Englands new Chains diſcovered*, in which they find fault with many things done by this *Junto*, and eſpecially the Councel of State, and with the erecting an high Court of Juſtice and altering the Fundamental Laws of the Land, for Tryals by Juries. Complain of the Exciſe, and of ſeveral other things. And after this another, called a ſecond Part of *Englands new Chains*, which ſhewed the Hypocriſie and Perfidiouſneſs of the Grandees of the Army, and the Councel of State, in Cheating all Intereſts, King, Parliament, People, Soldiers, City, Agitators, Levellers, &c. Upon the back of this comes forth another Book, called the *Hunting of the Fox*, which ſpake againſt the Army and Councel of State, ſet up by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to erect a new Tyranny, worſe than the thirty Tyrants at *Athens*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *High Commiſſion*, or houſe of *Lords*, &c. Theſe coming forth one upon the Neck of another, ſhewed the troubleſome Spirit that began to ferment in the Army; which was now to be Purged, as well as the Parliament had been, or elſe *Cromwell* found he ſhould not be able to work them to his ends. And now he had an opportunity offerr'd him, for *Ireland* being in a manner wholly loſt, excepting *Dublin*, then beſieged, eleven Regiments were ordered by the *Rump* to be Tranſported for its relief, by which means *Cromwell* hoped to purge out this Turgent humour of the Army. But ſome of theſe bold Petitioners were ſeized, and tryed by a Councel of War, of which *Barkſted* was Preſident, in which they were Caſhiered the Army, their Swords ordered to be broken over their Heads, and to Ride with their Faces to the Horſes Tails, with Papers of their Crimes pinned to their Breaſts, at the head of the Regiments; which Sentence was executed accordingly, to the great Exaſperation of the Army. And not long after, ſeveral Regiments began to Mutiny and to wear White Colours for diſtinction in their Hats, which might have proved fatal to *Cromwell*'s deſigns, had he not with an undaunted Boldneſs

at that time, appearing in Perſon, overawed them, and cauſing two of them to be ſhot to Death, before their Faces. But this could not purge out the Humour, which ſtill increaſing, two more of the Levelling Tribe were ſhot, one of which was named *Lockyer* a Trooper, ſhot in St. *Paul*'s Church-yard, but buried in great State by the *Lilburnian* Faction, wearing green and black Ribbons in their Hats. And now the peoples Eyes daily began to be opened, finding what Keepers of *Englands* Liberties they had got. The Regiments ordered to march at *Salisbury* make an Eruption, alledging that this was a Trick to divide the Army, and that they were not Mercenaries but took up Arms upon a righteous Principle of Government, and therefore would not divide: upon which ſeveral Regiments revolt, and Collonel *Scroop*'s laid aſide their Officers, and with Colours flying march'd to joyn *Harriſon*'s Regiment, and *Ireton*'s, and *Skippon*'s, who had confederated. But *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, by haſty marches with the whole Army follow them, who at *Burford* in *Oxford-ſhire*, made up about five Thouſand Horſe and Foot, with whom *Cromwell* by private Meſſengers held them in hand of a Treaty, putting them in hopes of reconciling the Buſineſs without blows, which made them neglectful till *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* fell upon them in their Quarters unſuſpected, their Horſes being moſt at Graſs at twelve a Clock of the night, routed them and took about four hundred Priſoners, of which only three were ſhot to Death, the reſt pardoned by *Cromwell*'s Interceſſion, to ingratiate himſelf with the Army. One *Thomſon* and two more dyed very Reſolutely: This buſineſs being over, the General and *Cromwell* come to *Oxford*, where they are feaſted and made Doctors of the Civil Law. And now the Army were fain to ſubmit, and accepted their Lots for going to *Ireland*, which were theſe following: *Ireton*'s, *Scroop*'s, *Horton*'s and *Lambert*'s Regiments of Horſe: Collonel *Abot*'s of Dragoons. And of Foot Collonel *Eure*'s, *Cook*'s, *Hewſon*'s, and *Dean*'s, to which were added three new ones, *Cromwell*'s *Venable*'s, and *Phayer*'s, *Cromwell* was made Commander

Commander in Chief, with the Title of Lord Governour of *Ireland*, and *Fairfax* was left at home to attend the *Junto*.

In the mean time, the *Keepers of the peoples Liberties*, were as faſt as they could taking away the Lives of ſeveral Perſons, in ſeveral places, whoſe Loyalty and Conſciences had engaged them for their King, as Lievtenant Collonel *Moris*, and Cornet *Blackborn*, who ſuffered at *York*, the former having been Governour of *Pomfret*; and one *Beamount*, a Miniſter was hanged at *Pomfret*, by Sentence of a Court Marſhal, Major *Monday* was ſhot to Death at *Leiceſter*, *Poyer* a brave Gentleman in *Covent-garden*, for the *Welch* Inſurrection. Sr. John *Stowell* and Judge *Jenkins* were arraigned at the Kings-Bench Bar as Traytors againſt the Government, for their Loyalty to their King, but they would not own the Courts jurisdiction, yet they were not yet Sentenced, but their Eſtates ſeized, and Judge *Jenkins* kept long a Priſoner.

And that the people might the better ſee their Freedom and Liberty, this *Rump* lay upon them a ſtanding Tax of ninety thouſand pound a Month, for the maintenance of the Army: theſe were the Perſons who made ſuch a ſtir about Ship-money. The Lord *Major* of *London Reynoldſon* is fined two thouſand Pound for refuſing to proclaim their Act for aboliſhing Kingly Government. Then upon a report from the Councel of State they order: *The King's and Queens Lands to be ſold*, Thirty thouſand Pound *to be taken out of it for the uſe of the Fleet, and the reſt to be diſtributed amongſt the moſt conſiderable among them*, for *Satisfaction of Loſſes ſuſtained*. Thus they had killed and were now taking poſſeſſion; and ſeveral of the Kings Houſes and Mannors were beſtowed amongſt them. And beſides this they had twenty thouſand Pound a month out of the *Fee-Farm* Rents. Now that the World might perceive what Liberty ſhould be granted to the people, they Order, That no Miniſter in his Pulpit ſhould meddle with State affairs, and this in others was Oppreſſion, and tying up mens Conſciences. But for all that, new Lights as they called them increaſed,

ſed, and about this time one that was a Soldier, came to *Walton* upon the *Thames* in *Surry*, and in the Church-yard, having a Candle and Lanthorn with him, met the Miniſter and People coming out of the Church, and told them, he had a Viſion and five new Lights were ſhewed him, which they were to receive from him, under pain of Damnation. The firſt was, That the Sabbath was aboliſhed; The ſecond, That Tythes were aboliſhed; Third, That Miniſters were aboliſh'd, as *Antichriſtian*; Fourth, That Magiſtrates were aboliſh'd as uſeleſs; and Fifthly, That the Bible was aboliſh'd; for Chriſt was come in the Spirit and Glory; and ſo drawing a little Bible out of his Pocket, he ſet it on Fire before them. The War with *Holland* being now about to break forth, the Earl of *Warwick*'s former Commiſſion is made voy'd, and three Generals of the Fleet were made, who were *Popham*, *Blake*, and *Dean*. Before *Cromwel*'s going to *Ireland* a Faſt was kept at *White-Hall*, where among the *Militant* Preachers *Oliver* ſtood up, and in his Prayer he deſired God to take off from him the Government of this mighty people of *England*, as being too heavy for his ſhoulders to bear. About this time alſo a third Book of John *Lilburn*'s came forth, Called, *The Picture of the Councel of State*, wherein he fully ſet forth all the illegal, Arbitrary, Violent, and Tyrannical Proceedings of that Councel. *Lilburn*, *Overton*, *Walwin*, *Prince* and others had been before Clapt into the Tower, intending to try them for their Lives; *Lilburn* was ordered to be brought to the Kings-Bench Bar upon his *Habeas Corpus*, but *Cromwell* ſent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he ſhould not be brought, who was obey'd, not the Judges. By which may be ſeen of what force the Laws were with them. Then ſome thouſands well affected Women petition the Houſe in behalf of *Lilburn*, but the *Junto* anſwered them, He ſhould be tryed by the Law, for his Book called *Englands new Chains diſcovered*, and they bid to go home and waſh their Diſhes. Who reply'd they had neither Diſhes nor Meat left.

This John *Lilburn* was tryed by a ſpecial Commiſſion of

of *Oyer* and *Terminer* in *October* 1649. where he ſo notably pleaded his Cauſe, ſhewed the illegality of the Parliaments Proceedings, and ſo punctually cited all the Statutes and Laws of the Land, in the behalf of the Liberties of the Subjects, and ſo baffled the Judges, the Attorney general *Prideaux*, and their Councel, that they could not Effect what they deſired, the taking away his Life upon an Inditement of High Treaſon put in againſt him, but was found *Not Guilty*, by his *Jury*, to the great diſappointment of his Enemies.

Their chief buſineſs now was to give one another Eſtates, out of the Delinquents Lands, as they called the Loyal Party, whom they now ſequeſter, and made an Order That no Malignant or ſuch as had been in Arms againſt them ſhould come within twenty miles of *London*, or go five miles from their own habitations. Biſhops and Deans and Chapters Lands ſold and diſpoſed to one another at eaſie Rates, ſome got for three years Purchaſe, for none but themſelves would buy them. About this time they ſend their Embaſſadors *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland* into *Holland*, for Satisfaction for Doctor *Doriſlaus*, who drew up the Charge againſt the King, his being Aſſaſſinated in *Holland*, by ſome *Cavaliers*, but they were there affronted and forced to return *Re infecta*, in great Diſcontent, which exaſperated our new States againſt the *Dutch*. *Aſcham* another of their Creatures was murthered alſo in *Spain*. And tho the *Dutch* ſent afterwards their Agent *Myn heer Joachim*, with Complements and excuſes, our *Junto* could not forget it, and by it took an occaſion to forgo their Friendſhip, and prohibited their Fiſhing upon the *Engliſh* Coaſts, and the importing of any forrain Commodities, except in *Engliſh* bottoms: or ſuch as were of the Countrey, whence the Commodities came. This brought on the enſuing War commenced the next year, between theſe two States.

In the mean time, they have no ſmall umbrage of the *Scots* Proceedings; who had ſent to the King then at the *Hague*, and invited him into *Scotland* with ſeveral Propoſitions in order thereunto. But *Middleton* and *Mon-*

Noe fearing the *Kirk* Party would hold the King to hard Terms, ſhould he come in upon their Propoſitions, riſe in the North of *Scotland*, but were ſoon ſuppreſt by *Ker* and *Stranghan*; upon this our *Junto* ſtrike in, and offering them by their Letters ſeveral fair Temptations, that they might break with the King, promiſing to ſtand by them, and to defend their Liberty as they called it. But this took not. And about this time they make a new Act of Treaſon, ſuch as ſcarce was ever heard of before: That to kill the General, Lievtenant General, or any Member of that Houſe of *Parliament*, or Councel of State ſhould be Treaſon, was to have been put into it, but after long debate was omitted, betraying too much Cowardiſe in them, and having other ways ſecured themſelves in the Act. For it was made Treaſon, to Act, Plot, Contrive, or ſpeak againſt this Fag End of the Parliament, or their Government, and all Endeavours againſt the Keepers of the Liberties of *England*, and the Councel of State, to ſubvert them, as now Conſtituted, and that ſhall be hereafter Conſtituted by Parliament, (what an *individuum vagum* is here?) and for every ſuch Act, &c. to forfeit Life and Eſtate: And alſo to move, and ſtir up the people againſt them, was declared Treaſon, nay ſo much as to endeavour to withdraw any Soldier, or Officer from their obedience to their Superior Officer, or from the preſent Government aforeſaid. Alſo to Counterfeit their great Seal is by this Act made Treaſons. Are not theſe in the mean time excellent Conſervators of the Liberties of the Nation? And a very free State? *Lilburn* in the Tower was kept from Pen, Ink and Paper, and all allowance for Meat and Drink taken from him, tho he petitioned for it, ſo that he was kept three days with half a Meals meat, and in a cloſe Chamber, none ſuffered to come at him: This under a King had been Tyrannical, but is Prudence in this free State. About this time alſo orders were given to certain Committees, to inquire upon Oath, and to Certifie the improved vallue of every mans Eſtate, both Real and Perſonal, which they intended throwout the Kingdom, following

lowing the Conqueror's ſteps, to have by them a Doomsday Book, that they might the better load the people with Taxes, and free Quarter, in this their new Subjected and Conquered Kingdom, called a *Free-ſtate*. Here the Houſe enables their Committees to give Oaths, when they had not Power to give any themſelves, Contrary to that *Maxim*, None can give what he hath not: or more Power than is in himſelf. Theſe are the men that were ſo much troubled with the Oath *ex Officio*, and yet require Oaths againſt a mans ſelf: Nay, the Scriveners in *London* were commanded by theſe ſupream Governors, to ſhew their Books, that they might inſpect, what and whoſe Money they had in their Hands, the better to come at it themſelves. And that they might graſp at all, they were Contriving to ſeize all the Tythes of the Kingdom into their own Hands, and to make all Miniſters their Stipendary Lecturers, and to depend upon the State, that they might Preach no Doctrine, but what ſhould be agreeable to themſelves, or in juſtification of their Actions. This was a politick Device.

Oliver before he went for *Ireland*, took all the politick Care poſſible, to keep up the Greatneſs he had acquired; and to ſecure this *Junto* of Men, which he made uſe of only to ſet up himſelf, beſides the Bridle he had already made them, the Councel of State, Compoſed of his Creatures, he picks out of the Army left behind in *England*, the chief of his Creatures, and Conſtitutes them a Councel of War, or a Councel of Officers, to over-awe all with the Power of the Sword, for *ſilent Leges inter Arma*, and now *ſilet Juſtitia inter Leges, & ſilet Jus inter Judices*. The Government was now a *Cerberus* with three Heads, a Parliament, a Councel of State, and a Councel of War. Many Scruple to pay their illegal Tax of ninety Thouſand pound a Month, for the Army, and therefore have their Goods taken from them by Violence, and ſold, tho they exclaim againſt it, as not done by Law. Mr. *Prin* declares againſt it, and ſhews it to be againſt the Statutes *Magna Charta*, 29.30.25. Ed. 1 Chap. 5.6.34. Ed. 1.21. Ed. 3. 25. Ed 3. 45. Ed. 3. 11. Hen. 4. 1. Rich.

1. Rich, 3. The *Petition of Right*, and many more; and it was obſerved to them, that no Tax was to be impoſed but upon neceſſiry and for the good of the People, 25. Ed. 1. *Cook Inſt.* but for the keeping up an Army when the Wars were done, was the bain of the People, and that more Taxes had been raiſed in eight years, than in all the Kings Reigns ſince the Conqueſt. A hundred and fifty thouſand Pound was advanced for *Oliver*'s expedition into *Ireland*, who was to be accomptable only of part of it, the reſt to be diſpoſed at his Diſcretion, for the uſe of the *Common-wealth*.

And now this *Junto* begin to think of adjourning themſelves according to *Oliver*'s deſire, and in the mean time, things to be left to his two Caballs or Councells, That of State, and that of War: but this was a bitter Pill, and they knew not how to leave their old Seats, where moſt of them were grown very warm, and tho urged to it by the Councells, and that ſome trouble was given to *Lenthal* their Speaker, by Articles drawn up by his Council of Officers; but they fearing, leſt they might not get together again, if once ſeparated, deſired time to finiſh ſome Acts they had upon their Hands, and then they would adjourn themſelves; by which you may ſee, how free theſe Keepers of the Kingdoms freedom were. Firſt down went the King, and his Power lapſed into the two Houſes, down went the Houſe of Lords, and then all Power was in the Houſe of Commons, now they are going down, and the ſupream Power is in a Councel of State, who muſt down too, and then the Wheel turns round, and all the Power will be in a ſingle Tyrannical perſon and Uſurper. Some of the Acts that lay yet on their Hands, and which they promiſed to diſpatch, were, That all Acts concerning Loans, Monies, Exciſe, Sequeſtrations, Goldſmiths-Hall, Haberdaſhers-Hall, Aſſeſſments for *England* and *Ireland* be paſſed; ſo that they intended a Continuance of the Peoples Slavery and Burthens. Alſo an Act for the ſetling the Militia throughout the Kingdom. An Act for puniſhing revolted Seamen. An Act for the relief of well affected Tenants,

nants, againſt Malignant LandLords. An Act for ſuppreſſing Malignant Pamphlets, aſperſing the Proceeding of this Parliament, Councel of State and Army. An Act for the ſuppreſſing of ſeditious Preachers. An Act for the taking away of a Clauſe of the Stat. 25. *Eliz.* and the 1. *Jacob.* againſt Sectaries. An Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, to all Perſons except ſuch as ſhould be nominated therein. An Act for relief of poor Priſoners. An Act to ſecure the Souldiers their Arrears. Then they were Conſidering of ſome orders which the Councel of State were to put in Execution (and which the ſaid Councel deſired of them) after their receſs, 1. That they might appoint Commiſſioners in every County to make an Eſtimate of all Tyths. 2. That the Councel of State may conſider of ſetling future Parliaments, and the conſtant time of Calling, Sitting, and Ending, after this Parliament ſhall Diſſolve themſelves: 3. That they ſhall conſider an Act for regulating Proceedings at Law, and to prevent rediouſneſs of Suits. 4. That they ſhould conſider what Laws are fit to be repealed. Thus they were Cutting out one another Work.

In the mean time *Oliver Cromwell*, with a brave Army lands at *Dublin*, the whole Kingdom being reduced under the Kings obedience, moſt of the *Iriſh* coming in, except the *Ulſter Iriſh*, under *Owen Roe Oneal*, being prevailed with by the Popes *Nuncio*, (Contrary to his promiſe,) not to come in, and under-hand there was a Confederacy driven between our new *Republicans*, and this *Nuncio*, but on what Conditions was kept Private, for their Aſſiſtance of reducing that Kingdom under their obedience, tho this being laid in *their Diſh*, they impudently deny'd it afterwards. Some of the Propoſitions were, That all Laws and Penalties againſt the Popiſh Religion ſhould be taken off, by Act of Parliament; and that Act to extend to them and their Heirs for ever. That an Act of Oblivion ſhould be paſſ'd, to extend to all of his Party, for all things done, ſince the beginning of the year, 1641: So that the horrid Maſſacre of the *Proteſtants*, ſhould have been forgotten.

That

That *Owen Oneal* ſhould have a competent Command in the Army. That they ſhould enjoy their Lands now in Poſſeſſion, and that rightly they might claim from their Anceſtors. That all Acts of State that incapacitated them, to be taken off. That *Oneal* ſhould in regard of his Merit, and good Service to the *Parliament*, in joyning with them, have all the Eſtate of his Anceſtors, or ſome Eſtate equivalent to it, in the Counties of *Tyrone*, *Ardmagh*, or *London-Derry*. And that his Army ſhould be provided for, &c. So that the ſweetneſs of ruling and getting *Ireland* into their hands, as well as *England*, made them thus treat with the Popes *Nuncio*, and a moſt notorious Rebel and *Papiſt*, to joyn with them: But they who had Confederated with the Devil, might well joyn with his Holineſs, to ſubdue the *Cavaliers*, and yet at the ſame time theſe men cryed out upon the Duke of *Ormond*, for joyning with the *Iriſh*, for the reducing that Kingdom to the obedience of the King. And ſome of *Cromwell*'s own Soldiers, hearing of this Confederacy, abominating it, deſerted him, which made him to certifie to his Journey-men in *London*; and cauſed them to *null* their Debenters for all their Service, which were ſtated before the Expedition. And this Agreement with *Oneal* went ſo far, that the ſaid *Oneal* aſſiſted Sr. *Charles Coot*, in raiſing the Siege of *London-Derry*, as may appear by his Letters to the Parliament, ſays the Author of the Hiſtory of *Independency*; However they fell to pieces afterwards, but this is enough to ſhew by what Principles they Acted, and how much they valued Religion, when Gain and Dominion ſtood in Competition.

Oliver is ſucceſsful in *Ireland*; at the taking of *Tredagh*, a ſtrong place twenty miles North of *Dublin*, in which were the Flower of the *Iriſh* Army, where he put to the Sword all perſons whatſoever, without Diſtinction of Age or Sex, and laſted for three days; he ſlew about three thouſand of their beſt and ſtouteſt men, with their Governour Sr. *Arthur Aſton*, Sr. *Edmund Varny*, Collonel *Warren*, Collonel *Dun*, *Finglus*, *Tempeſt*, and others, who all fell by his Fury, which ſo affrighted the reſt, that he

no

no ſooner appeared before a place, but it was ſurrendred to him. The next place was *Wexford* a conſiderable Town, by the Sea, South Weſt of *Dublin*, which was betray'd to him, and where he after a barbarous manner put to the Sword two Thouſand more; and among the reſt two hundred of the chiefeſt Women of the place, fled to the Market-Croſs for ſhelter, and there put to the Sword, by his Command, tho ſeveral of his own Soldiers, who had before given them Quarter, refuſed to obey his Bloody Commands. After which, he took *Roſs*, *Carick*, *Kilkenny*, *Clonmel*, and other places in *Munſter*. Thus with extraordinary diligence, and great Slaughter, in leſs than a year, that he ſtaid there, he ſubdued the greateſt part of *Ireland*, and kill'd and exterminated moſt part of the *Iriſh*, leaving his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, to complete the Conqueſt, as Governour, or his Lieutenant, who there died of the Plague, before he had quite finiſh'd his work.

In the mean time the King being in *Jerſey*, received a Letter from the *Scots*, by Mr. *Windram*, with ſeveral Conditions; the chief of which was the acknowledging them a Parliament, and particularly the two laſt Seſſions of that Aſſembly, and then they would treat with him at *Breda* concerning his coming to *Scotland*, owning him for their King. But thoſe about his Majeſty, having no good Opinion of the *Scots*, were fearful of having him to put himſelf into their Hands, but to truſt to *Montroſs*, whom with a Commiſſion he had ſent before into *Scotland*, his valiant Service being moſt remarkable there, for the King his Father, and they now hoped from him the like ſucceſs: However the King diſpatch'd away *Windram* with a Letter to the *Scotch* Parliament, wherein he concedes to have them to ſend Commiſſioners to him to treat at *Breda*, which they did, and on the 16*th*. of *March* they met, where the Agreement was made, and it was concluded, That they ſhould enjoy the *Presbytery* throughout the Kingdom, the King himſelf and Family not excepted, but bound him to the Covenant, Directory, and Catechiſms, which the King, his

his Affairs in *Ireland* being desperate, and his hopes in *England* as little, many Noble-men and Gentlemen flying thence from the bloody Tyranny of the States, he was forced with great Reluctancy to Consent, and then on their parts they Covenant, That his Majesty should be admitted to the Throne of *Scotland*, That his Rights should by Parliament be recovered out of the Hands of Usurpers, and That they would assist to bring to Condign Punishment, the Murtherers of his Father, and to restore him to his Kingdom of *England*.

But in the *interim* of this Treaty, the gallant and renowned *Montross*, being landed in the *Islands* of *Orkney*, with a few *German* Soldiers, accompanied with the Lord *Trendraught*, Sr. *John urry*, *Henry Graham*, Collonel *Johnson*, *George Drummond* of *Ballack*, and other Persons his Friends and Confederates, he begun with great Resolution and Courage to levy men, notwithstanding several Losses of Arms at Sea, and disappointments of Men and Monies, which he had exspected from other places. Having raised what men he could in the *Orcades*, he left some men to keep the *Island*, and transported the rest to *Cathness* in the uttermost North-west part of *Scotland*, where he hoped to have met some men, whom he expected *Pluscardy* should have raised, but the Parliament of *Scotland* having notice of his Landing, was so vigilant by their Correspondence and Friends in those Parts, that the High-Landers could not rise as was expected, and immediately they sent an Army of seven Thousand Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse to oppose *Montross*. *David Lesly* commanded the Horse, and Major General *Holburn* the Foot. These making great speed, struck a dread into the Breasts of many, who were the Kings friends, and would have appeared, had a little longer time been given them. *Straham*, who led the Van, finding *Montrosses* party surprised, at their unexpected approach, made use of the Advantage, and fell in upon them, and the unseasoned *Orkney* men soon yielded themselves, and in a short time the *Germans*, tho they made some resistance; thus the Earl lost the day, more through the

Panick

Panick fear of his Soldiers, than want of Courage and Conduct in himſelf, who was certainly one of the moſt skilful and valiant Leaders of his Age. There eſcaped not above an hundred, and moſt of his Officers were either taken or ſlain. He got away himſelf, quitting his Horſe, Belt, Coat, and Star, in an ordinary High-Landers habit, but it was impoſſible for him to get clear away, the Country being every way beſet, and ſuch ſtrict ſearch after him, and rewards promiſed to thoſe who could take him; yet for three or four days, keeping in the Woods, with one Companion only, till almoſt ſtarv'd, he kept out of their Clutches, till at laſt he fell into the Hands of the *Laird* of *Aſton*, who formerly had adhered to the Marqueſs, hoping that he would have Concealed him: But fear being more Prevalent than ancient Friendſhip, he ſet a Guard upon him, and delivered him up to *Leſly*, who in triumph carried him to *Edenborow*, where this noble Marqueſs was treated with the moſt horrid Barbarity that ever was heard of, and at laſt hanged on a Gibbet thirty foot high, his head Cut off, and ſet on the *Talbooth* at *Edenborow*, and his four Quarters ſent to be ſet up at *Sterling*, *Glaſcow*, St. *Johns Town*, and *Aberdeen*, four of the notedeſt Cities in *Scotland*. Together with him were executed, tho not with ſo much diſgrace, Sr. *John Urry*, Collonel *Spotswood*, Laird of *Darcy*, with ſome others of note, who came with the Marqueſs into *Scotland*. This was the end of that moſt noble Peer, murthered by the *Kirk* or *Presbyterian* Party, on the twenty firſt of *May*, 1650, even when they were treating with their King; which indignity his Majeſty was fain to put up, tho he could not but ſhew his Reſentment for that faithful Servants Barbarous uſage at their Hands, writing to them particularly about it: to whom they returned their Excuſes, letting him know they did it for the Service of his Majeſty, inviting him into *Scotland*, and proteſting to aſſiſt him with their Lives and Fortunes, to eſtabliſh him in his Throne.

The King prepares for his Voyage, and notwithſtanding *Popham* one of the *Junto*'s Admirals was at Sea with

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a Fleet, hoping to intercept him, he got safe into *Scotland*, and Landed in the north Parts at *Spey*, from whence he went to *Edenborow*, where he was received with great Acclamations, and again on the 15. of *July*, solemnly proclaimed at *Edenborow*; but it was not long, before the ill Nature of the *Presbyterians* began to appear, and they began to exercise their *Kirk* Authority, and all Malignants as they called the Kings best Friends, prohibited to come at him; they lessen his Family, and are angry that *Aberdeen* had presented him with five hundred Pound; and lest others should do the like, They order, *That what* Money or *Plate any intended to bestow* upon the *King, should be brought into the publick Treasury:* But they form an Army as fast as they can, of which the King was to be *Generalissimo*, and the Earl of *Levin* Lieutenant General, *Holborn* Major General, and *Lesly* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Mountgomery* Major General.

In the mean time, the *Junto* begin to look about them, ill news comes apace from the North Quarter, of a threatning Storm, and they make ready to meet it; but the *Presbyterian* Ministers, had been tampering with *Fairfax*, and had represented this War with *Scotland* so illegal, being against the Church, that he being a *Presbyterian*, made many Excuses, pleading Sickness and Wounds, and desiring to be Excused from commanding the Army, that was to fight against their Brethren; for now the *Presbyterians*, not out of any Love to the King, but to themselves, hoping to set up their own Church-Government, as they saw it was like to be in *Scotland*, Confederate privately together, and intend to joyn with the *Scots*. All these things are made known to *Cromwell* in *Ireland*, who now thought it high time to play his Part in *England*, things still working for his Advancement; and therefore sending to the *Junto* for leave to come over he prepares to be gone, but Occasion pressing, he stays not for the return of Letters, but full of his great Atchievments in *Ireland*, he leaves it, and Lands at *Bristow*, whence he Posts to *London*, where he is met, Complemented, and Caressed by the Members of the

Junto,

unto, and the Creatures of his Councils, and preſently, *Fairfax* ſtill refuſing the command of the Army, *Cromwell* is by order of the Rump made General, and *Fairfax* laid aſide. And now with all Expedition he forms his Army, and draws his Forces together, prepares for *Scotland*, and about the latter end of *June* marches to *Berwick*, whence he ſends canting Letters to the *Scots*, who fearing their people ſhould be gull'd with his fair Words, proclaim it Treaſon to hold Correſpondence with the *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh* Army was about ſixteen thouſand men Compleat, with which *Cromwell* marches into *Scotland*, moſt of the *Scots* having left the Borders, and waiſted the Country, ſo that the *Engliſh* Army found ſmall reſiſtance, but much want of Proviſions, yet they had a Fleet who waited their Motions at Sea, and Coaſted it along to ſupply them. The *Scotch* Army in the mean time, lay encamped betwixt *Edenborow* and *Leith*, being ſix thouſand Horſe and Dragoons, and fifteen thouſand Foot. *Cromwell* advances within ſight of the *Scots*, whom he found ſtrongly incamped on the Hills, but on the 25*th.* of *July* he attempts one of the Hills, with a ſmall Party, and beat off the *Scots*, but a party of the *Scots* Horſe fell in upon their Rear ſo furiouſly, that they began to be in diſorder, till repulſed by *Lambert* and *Whaly*, who had the Rere-Guard, in which Action *Lambert* had his Horſe ſhot under him, and himſelf run thorow the Arm with a Lance, and taken Priſoner, but reſcued by one Lieutenant *Emſon*. After this the *Engliſh* advance towards *Muſcleborough*, where the *Scots* ſet upon them, betwixt three and four in the Morning, with fifteen hundred of their beſt Horſe, under the Command of *Montgomery* and *Stranghan*, and charged ſo furiouſly, that they had almoſt Pierced the whole Army, but in their return *Okey* met with them, and forced them back to their Camp with as much ſpeed, having loſt an hundred men in the Action.

Whilſt theſe things were doing in *Scotland*, the *Junto* were Active at home in ſuppreſſing all Perſons from appearing for the *Scots* Intereſt, with all the Rigor imagi-

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nable and Doctor *Levens* a Doctor of the Civil Law b
ing taken disperſing ſome Commiſſions from the Ki
was tryed by their Court marſhal, Condemned to be han
ed and Executed accordingly on the 13*th.* of *July* ov
againſt the Royal Exchange in *London.* And further
ſhew their inveterate Spite to the Royal Family, th
cauſe the laſt Kings Statues to be broken to Piece
and cauſed to be written under the Nick where o
ſtood in the Royal Exchange: *Exit Tyrannus Regum u
timus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ reſtitutæ primo, Annoq; Domi
1648.* Now alſo was diſcovered a deſign of a riſing to be
Lancaſhire for the King, in which were ſeveral of the Pre
byterian Miniſters in *London*, and others; upon which M
Cook of *Grays-Inn*, Mr. *Gibbons*, Mr. *Potter*, Doctor *Drak
Jenkins*, and *Love*, *Presbyterian Miniſters*, were taken, a
for which they were try'd by their murthering Hi
Court of *Juſtice*, and about the Latter end of *Ju
Gibbons*, *Potter*, and that Incendiary *Love* were Executed
wherein 'tis remarkable that the Juſtice of God ſhou
ſo overtake this Perſon, ſo as to bring him to the Blo
(for he was beheaded) who by his preaching again
the late King, broke off the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and w
the occaſion of bringing that Royal Martyr to ſuffer u
der the Ax.

But whilſt they were ſhedding Blood at *London*, b
their High Court of Juſtice, *Cromwell* was letting
forth in *Scotland*, with the Sword: for on the 3*d.* o
September, was the famous Battel of *Dunbar*, which gain'd
him ſo much Honour, and eſtabliſhed his greatneſs in th
Army, tho his Conduct in bringing his Army to thoſe
Streights they were in, being forced by deſpair to fight
did appear very ill on his ſide; for *Cromwell*'s Army ve
ry much wanting Proviſions, were ſo far advanced
that they could not well return without Hazard, and
ſuppoſe he engaged himſelf the more boldly, for that h
underſtood the differenees in the *Scotch* Army, betwee
the Rigid *Kirk* Party, and the other more moderate fe
the King, hoping, by his frequent Letters, and Decla
rations of his pious Intentions towards the *Presbyterians*,

bring moſt of them over to him, or at leaſt to make ch diviſion amongſt them, that he hoped to obtain an ſie Victory. *Cromwell* had advanced within a Mile d an half of *Edenborow*, took a ſmall Garriſon, and an'd it with *Engliſh*, but being ſtill preſſed with want f Proviſions, he draws off to *Penkland* Hills, and thence o *Dunbar*, thinking that way to ſhip his men for *Eng-nd*, the Fleet attending; but the *Scots* perceiving the dvantage, and that he was in a ſtrait, follow him loſe, and were now in a manner ſure of a Victory. The *Scots* being about twenty four Thouſand men, and dou-le the number of the *Engliſh*, who were weary and Faint, had they ſtayed, and not put them into Deſ-pair, no doubt they had obtained their Deſires; but fearing they ſhould eſcape them, they followed them within a Mile of *Dunbar*, and drew up upon the Hills, at the Foot of which lay *Cromwell*, who now ſaw the ſtreights into which he had brought himſelf, having only a Neck of Land to encamp on, whoſe breadth was not a Mile and an half, the Sea being on both ſides, ſo that they were got into a perfect Pound, and the *Scots* hav-ing poſſeſt all the Hills, he was in ſome Amazement; ſhip his men he could not without certain Loſs: Next morning the *Scots* drew down to the Foot of the Hills, but there was a great Ditch between the Armies; but at a Village called *Copperſpeith* between *Dunbar* and *Ber-wick*, there was a Paſſage over the Hills, which it ſeems was ſtrangely neglected by the *Scots*, too ſure of the Vic-tory: but *Cromwell* taking hold on the Advantage, hav-ing with his field Pieces ſecured the Ditch, ſent away a good Party of Horſe and Foot to poſſeſs it. This gave the *Scots* an Alarm, and now they ſaw their Error, and that of neceſſity they muſt let the *Engliſh* paſs home, or fight them. The *Kirk* Miniſters being in the Councel of War, were extreamly againſt letting *Agag* go, as they called *Cromwell*, for that God had given him into their Hands, contrary to the Opinion of the more knowing Commanders: But upon this, there was a fierce Diſpute at this Paſs, which the *Engliſh* with much

Valour

Valour obtained, and poſſeſſed themſelves of; The C
non on both ſides playing againſt the Bodies, the Batt
began, the *Engliſh* word was *The Lord with us*, the *Scot*
was *The Covenant*. The *Scots* firſt Charge put the *Engli*
Horſe into a little Confuſion, but being ſtoutly ſeconde
by the Foot, they Charg'd the *Scots* ſo home, that the
put them to the Rout: which put their Foot into ſuch
Confuſion and Diſorder, that the *Engliſh* gained a ſu
and eaſie Victory, following the purſuit for eight Mile
and ſlew and took Priſoners of them as many or more
than they were themſelves, there being four Thouſand
ſlain, and nine Thouſand taken Priſoners, with all their
Bag and Baggage, ten Thouſand Armes, and all their Am
munition, and with the loſs of not above three hundred
Engliſh. The Colours and the Purſe and great Seal of
Scotland there taken, were ſent up to *London*; where
was no ſmall rejoycing among the Rumpers for this Vic-
tory: And the Colours ordered to be hung up in *Weſt-
minſter-Hall*. Some of the *Scotch* Miniſters engaging,
were ſlain, in this fight. *Cromwell* it is ſaid, in his great
Neceſſity and ſtraits before the fight, prayed to God
and promiſed him, That if he would be pleaſed at this
time to deliver him, he would in return of the Fa-
vour, as ſoon as he came into *England*, take away Tythes.
A pretty Vow to commit Sacriledge to obtain Mercy.

Upon this Loſs, *Cromwell* purſues his Victory, and
poſſeſſes himſelf of *Leith* and *Edenborow*, which the *Scots*
had quitted, the King being retired to St. *Johnſtons*,
where were aſſembled their Committee of States. The
Kirk Party began to lay their miſ-fortunes upon the King,
and ſaid God had diſowned them for bringing him into
Scotland: And ſhewed ſo much inſolence and ill be-
haviour to him, that he was no longer able to brook it,
and therefore one morning, taking Horſe as if he had
been going to Hunting, he went privately towards the
North, but the *Scots* fearing leſt he ſhould joyn with
the High-Landers, and being ſomewhat humbled by *Crom-
well*, they ſent after him Major General *Montgomery*, to
intreat him to return, but with ſuch a force, as it was
thought,

thought, would perform it by Compulsion, if he would not do it by Intreaty. But the King perswaded, returns to St. *Johnstons*, where the Committee of Estates being somewhat more Compliant, (thank *Cromwell* for that) many of the Kings friends were admitted to him. This made many dissatisfied Ministers withdraw themselves into the West, as *Guthery*, *Gelaspy*, *Rutherford*, and others, where they put forth a Remonstrance against the Proceedings of the Assembly, in the Admission of *Malignants* to Power and Employment, and with these *Ker*, *Stranghan*, Laird *Warreston*, Sr. *John Cheisley*, Sr. *James Stewart*, and others, joyn in Confederacy. These Broils made well for *Cromwell*, who found small Opposition. He took *Ken* Prisoner, and *Edenborow* Castle was surrendred to him on the 24*th*. of *December* 1650. This very much troubled the *Scots*, for after that *Cromwell* succeeded so well, that he took in all the Forts on this side of *Sterling*. In *January* the *Scots* Crown the King at *Scoon*, the accustomed place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*, which is not far from St. *Johnstons*, with great Pomp and Solemnity.

In the mean time, the *Junto* in *England* still sat, and Voted Liberty of Conscience to all, which was a most distasteful thing to the *Presbyterians*. Also they fell to levying of Souldiers, giving the Command to *Harrison*, now made Major General, a fifth-Monarchy man, most of these men being raised by those sort of men, and the other Sectaries, with which this Army swarmed, and the *Presbyterian* Interest daily declined, every where being called a most horrid Tyranny, and worse than the *Prelacy*. They also about this time formally receive Embassadors from *Portugal*, and *Spain*, who for Interest acknowledge their Power. All they did besides, was the constant Persecution of the Royal Party after their Tyrannical manner, Collonel *Eusebius Andrews*, a constant Loyalist, and firm to the interest of his King, being by Profession a Councellor of *Grays-Inn*, having been underhand Contriving some Insurrection, in the behalf of the King, was betray'd by some of his Confederates

federates, and taken at *Graveſend*, and after ſixteen Weeks being Priſoner in the Tower, and ſeveral times examined, he was brought to his Tryal before their bloody High Court of Juſtice, *Bradſhaw* ſitting as Preſident. Where he admirably pleaded his Cauſe, but the Attorney General *Prideaux*, over-ruled all, and told him the Court was not to take notice of his Law Caſes, but of his Confeſſion, and tho he had Acted no Treaſon, yet he had an Affection for Treaſon, and therefore deſerved Death: An excellent Mark of the Liberty of the Subject under Uſurpers. And upon this learned diſtinction, the Bloody Court proceeded to Sentence againſt him, that he ſhould be Beheaded: Thus the Will of Uſurpers is become Law. This Heroick Gentleman ſuffered accordingly on the 22*d.* of *Auguſt* 1650, on Tower-Hill, where he dyed with much Conſtancy, Magnanimity, and Chriſtianity. In *October* following, one *Benſon*, involved in the ſame Deſign with Collonel *Andrews*, was tryed and Condemned, by the aforeſaid Tyrannical Court, and on the 7*th.* was Executed, being Hanged for his Loyalty. At the ſame time, was an Inſurrection in *Northfolk*, which being ſuppreſſed, many ſuffered for the ſame in ſeveral places. In *March* following, the Grandees at *Weſtminſter*, by the ſame Arbitrary Power, after the *Turkiſh* Precedent, put to Death the Loyal Sr. *Henry Hide*, before the *Exchange*. It was Crime enough that he was a Royaliſt, and Brother to the afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, then with the King. But his pretended Crime was, That he had been an Agent from the King, after the Death of his Royal Father, to the grand *Signior*. He was bred a Merchant, and had a repute amongſt the *Turkiſh* Company, and was by them made their Conſul at *Morea*, and this Gentleman the King ſent to the *Port*, in order to ſome private concerns, and not for the Confiſcation of the Merchants Eſtates, as the people were made to believe: but he being there, the *Viſiere* was privately tampered with, who betray'd him, and ſent him to *England* a Priſoner in the Ships thence bound for *Smirna*, in one of which he was brought to *London*, and Committed to the Tower

Tower, convenred before the aforeſaid Court, by whoſe Power he was Condemned and Beheaded as aforeſaid, on the 4*th.* of *March* 1650. And now their Hands were in all went to Pot that came in their way; the *April* following Captain *Brown Buſhell* was the next Criminal they Murthered for his Loyalty: he had long lain under reſtraint in the Tower, and almoſt ſtarved for want of Suſtinance, and at laſt being put into their Bloody Roll of ſuch as were to be Tryed, he was called to their Bar, and Condemned. But his Wife ſolicited very hard for a Reprieve, which at laſt they promiſed her, with which joyful News ſhe repaired to her Husband, Comforting themſelves together till four a Clock in the Afternoon, but had no ſooner left him, with thoſe flattering Hopes, but the Warrant came for his preſent Execution; they finding it ſeems that he was too well beloved by the Seamen, and wree in Fear of him, and ſo about ſix of the Clock at Night they put him to Death, on the Ground under the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; which he ſuffered with much Reſolution.

In the mean time *Cromwell* was very watchful and Diligent, and endeavoured all he could, tho not with any ſucceſs, to engage the *Scors* Army, which was drawn up at *Sterling*, where the King was with them But the King having a Deſign to paſs into *England*, waved engaging, with as much Care, as the other, fluſh'd with Victory and Succeſs, ſought it, who was come within ſight ofthe *Scotch* Army. In *Lancaſhire* ſeveral expected his coming, and were ready to riſe upon his approach, tho diſappointed by the *Rumps* Vigilancy: *Cromwell*, for want of Proviſions, was forced to remove, and attempted to get over to *Fife* ſide: It was about this time, that ſeveral rude fits of an Ague ſhook him ſo ſhrewdly, that there was an equal engagement of Hopes and Fears on the ſide of either party, of his marching into another world; Doctor *Write* and *Dr. Bates*, two eminent Phyſicians, being ſent from *London*, to adminiſter Phyſick to him, being brought very low. But at laſt by the help of theſe Doctors, who had the charge of him, by the

Junto's order, he recovered, to the ſorrow of the Royal Party. At laſt, the *Engliſh* under Collonel *Overton*, with about fifteen or ſixteen thouſand Foot, and four Troops of Horſe, with much difficulty, forced their Landing; *Cromwell* drawing up cloſe to the *Scots* at the ſame time, with all his Forces, with an intention to fall upon their Rere, if they ſhould attempt to beat them out of *Fiſe*. Yet the *Scots* ſent four thouſand Horſe and Foot, under Sir *John Brown*, which *Cromwell* having notice of, ſent over *Lambert* and *Okey*, with two Regiments of Horſe and Foot, and engaging with him, defeated him, took him with many others priſoners, having ſlain about two thouſand of the *Scots*. This gave the *Engliſh* firm footing in *Fiſe*, and they eaſily took in ſeveral places on that ſide the *Frith*. And now the King was neceſſitated to follow his deſign, in marching for *England*; and whilſt *Cromwell* went about to ſet upon S. *Johnſton*'s, that he might make himſelf Maſter of the Paſs at *Sterlin*, which he took after a days ſiege, the King marches for *England* from *Sterlin*, by the way of *Carlile*, with about ſixteen thouſand complete. This News gave *Cromwell* an allarm, and immediately he diſpatches a Meſſenger with Letters to his Maſters in *England*, to inform them of it; and to comfort them, believing they would entertain no pleaſant thoughts thereat, giving them an account of his ſucceſſes, and that they ſhould have confidence in God, and ſhould improve the beſt they could, what Forces they had in readineſs, and ſhould raiſe more, and not be afraid; for the Enemy was heart-ſmitten, and were in a deſperate condition, with ſuch like ſtuff. In the mean time, he orders Major General *Harriſon*, and Collonel *Rich*, who were on the Borders, to attend the motion of the King's Army, until he were able to come up to them with his Forces. The Parliament, notwithſtanding his canting Letters, began to be jealous of him, and ſpoke big words againſt him, which came to his ears, and which he remembred afterwards to their coſt. In the mean time, *Lambert*, with about three thouſand Horſe and Dragoons is ſpeeded after the King; and preſently

ſently after, *Cromwell* himſelf follows, the ſame day the King enters *England*, which was on the ſixth of *Auguſt*, having departed from *Sterlin* the laſt of *July*. On his entring into *England*, he was proclaimed as he went, and pardon offered to all ſorts of perſons, excepting *Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, *Cook*, and ſome others the moſt immediate Murtherers of his Father. At the ſame time a Party in *North-Wales* began to riſe, to joyn with the Earl of *Darby*, but were broken and diſappointed. The King with his wearied Men, on the two and twentieth of *Auguſt* comes to *Worceſter*, being beſet before and behind, by the new raiſed Forces, *Cromwell*, *Lambert* and *Harriſon*. The *Militia* of *London*, and of ſeveral Counties, flock to *Worceſter*; ſo that by that time *Cromwell* was come up to them, they had formed an Army of forty thouſand men, or more. The Earl of *Darby* brought to the King two hundred and fifty foot, and ſixty Horſe; and having raiſed about twelve hundred more in *Lancaſhire*, and thoſe parts, he was engaged by *Lilburn*, and routed, and ſeveral perſons of Quality taken. By this time, *Cromwell* had cloſe begirt *Worceſter*, and the King's Party beheld themſelves in a very bad condition, hemm'd in on all ſides with numerous Foes, and now too late ſaw their error, of not marching directly to *London*, which was dreaded by the *Junto*, and which was earneſtly deſired and expected by the *Londoners*, who wanted only a fuller ſecurity of ſhewing their inclinations for the King, being over-awed, and hindered through fear from declaring.

But God did not ſee it good, that the King ſhould be brought to the Throne, by any other hand than that of Peace, and by his own Subjects of *England*, intending to ſhew him a more immediate care of his miraculous providence, in his preſervation, and that he might not be ſubject to the *Presbyterians* for their aſſiſtance, nor beholden to them for his Crown; he was reſolved to bring him in after a more glorious manner.

Notwithſtanding the great diſadvantages the *Scots* were in, they were reſolved with much courage to ſell

their lives as dear as they could, and that the *Engliſh* ſhould not find it an eaſie purchaſe. The firſt conſiderable Engagement was at *upton* Bridge, on *Fleetwood*'s ſide, who was Lieutenant General of the Army, where *Lambert* with five hundred Horſe and Dragoons, beat Collonel *Maſſy*, who endeavoured to maintain it. But the fatal day was on the third of *September*, auſpicious to *Cromwell* the laſt year in his fight at *Dunbar*. It is not my deſign to draw you the Scheme of the Battel, intending only in theſe Papers to ſhew more particularly things of another nature: this Action has been ſufficiently made known; therefore I ſhall only very briefly mention it. The *Scots*, to give them their due, and the little handful of *Engliſh* that were with them, fought bravely, and ſhewed great courage and reſolution, diſputing every Field with their numerous Enemies, and coming to the But-end of their Muskets, and Puſh of Pike with them, covering the Field, where they ſtood, with their Bodies. The King in perſon charged in one of the Sallies from the Town, ſhewing extraordinary Valour, Conduct and Courage; in which Charge, Duke *Hamilton*, Brother to the Duke that was beheaded, was ſhot, and died ſuddenly after of his Wound. But towards the Evening, the Engliſh, charging moſt furiouſly, with *Cromwell* in the head of them, enter'd with the retreating *Scots* into the Town, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Fort Royal: Then it was the King, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Derby*, and ſome others, and about ſixty Horſe fled, being narrowly miſs'd by *Cobbet*; but the Foot falling to plunder the Town, (which they did with great barbarity) kept out the Horſe, for fear they ſhould ſhare with them, which favoured his Majeſties Eſcape, who got that night to *White-Ladies*, where he was diſguiſed, and all the reſt departing ſeveral ways, he was committed to the fidelity of the *Pendrills*, being in the diſguiſe of a Wood-Cutter, with a Bill in his hand, and for ſome time lay hid in the Celebrated *Oak* in *Boſcobel* Wood: thence conveyed to Mr. *Whitegrave*'s at *Moſely*, whence, as a Servant to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, he went to

Briſtol

Briſtol: but miſſing a paſſage there, after many ſignal Marks of God's Providence, in his miraculous Eſcape, at leaſt fifty ſeveral perſons having been made privy to it, he at laſt, with the Lord *Wilmot*, embarked at *Brightemſted* in *Suſſex*, and was carried over by one *Teterſell*, Maſter of the Veſſel, who afterwards was a Captain of one of his Majeſties Frigats, and got ſafe to *Diep* in *France*, to the great joy of all his Friends.

The *Scots* loſt in this Battel, about two thouſand ſlain upon the place, and in the purſuit, and about eight thouſand Priſoners; very few of the *Scots* got back to *Scotland*, being known by their Tongue, and pick'd up in their return by the Country: moſt of the Nobility and chiefeſt Commanders were taken, and carried Priſoners to *London*, with all their Enſigns: many of the chiefeſt Priſoners of the Nobility were kept in *Windſor-Caſtle*, till the King's Reſtoration: the Colours were hanged up in *Weſtminſter-Hall*; and ſeveral of the common Soldiers ſold to Merchants, and ſent away as Slaves to the *Barbadoes*, and other Plantations. *Comwell* himſelf in great triumph paſſes to *London*, being met at *Acton* by the Speaker, and Members of the *Junto*, the Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Steel* their Recorder, who in a flattering Speech applauded his great Atchievments, applying to him the words of the Pſalmiſt: *To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.*

And now the way to the ambitioned Throne ſeem'd open, few Obſtacles remaining, except the *Junto* themſelves, which he had made ſo odious to the people, by their bloody, tyrannous and arbitrary Actions, that he knew it would be very grateful to them, to have them diſſolv'd. *Ireton* was dead in *Ireland*, who had been a great Aſſiſtant to him in promoting him; but it was thought he was ſo true a Common-wealths-man, that he would not have ſuffered *Cromwell* to have graſped the Scepter, and to have ſet up himſelf in the place of the Monarch he had pull'd down; and ſince he was now able to act himſelf without his Councils, he was but a Rub out of his way; almoſt all *Ireland* being ſubdued, and under

his ſubjection; *Ludlow* being Lieutenant General of the Army there, and one active in the reducing the Remainder left unfiniſhed by *Ireton*. On the other hand General *Monk*, whom he had left in *Scotland* with ſeven thouſand men, had taken *Sterlin*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, and all the ſtrong Holds in *Scotland*; *S. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, and all the Caſtles ſurrendred upon Summons; ſo that *Scotland* as well as *Ireland* was at his devotion, and three Kingdoms he hoped to make a prey of: and to make them more ſure, and to unite them into one, they enter'd upon the project of having each Kingdom incorporated with *England*, like *Wales*, by cauſing them to elect their ſeveral Members to ſit in the *Engliſh* Parliament. And now that he might yet make the *Junto* more odious, he puts them on the ordinary Drudgery, of taking away the lives of ſuch of the Royal Party, as he thought might be any hinderance to his Deſigns, by their arbitrary way of Tryal, in their High Court of Injuſtice, or by a Court-Marſhal; and thus, as the ſaying is, he killed two Birds with one Stone, rid his Oppoſers out of the way, and made his Inſtruments odious, that he might with the more ſafety lay them aſide, when he ſaw his time.

The Earl of *Derby* was the firſt that felt the bloody ſeverity of theſe Rulers at *Weſtminſter*, who appointed a Court-Marſhal to ſit at *Cheſter* for his Tryal, and ſeveral others that were taken at the Battel of *Worceſter*; where he was ſentenced to be beheaded, tho he had ſurrendred himſelf upon Articles, and promiſe of his life to one Captain *Edge*; but notwithſtanding his plea, the arbitrary Court condemn'd him, and he was executed at *Bolton* in *Lancaſhire*, the fifteenth of *October*, 1651. And by the ſame Court, Sir *Timothy Fetherſtone-haugh* was condemned, and for the ſame crime of Loyalty, for endeavouring to bring in *Charles Stewart*, (as they called the King) and to poſſeſs him (of his Right) the Crown of *England*, who was beheaded at *Cheſter*, the twenty ſecond day of the ſame month: likewiſe by the ſame Court, Captain *Benbow* was condemned, and according to their Sentence ſhot to Death at *Shrewsbury*.

And

And Captain *Symkins* in another place. Many more of note were put into the Tower, and reſerved for a further Exerciſe of their Cruelty.

And now the way to the Crown did not ſeem very Difficult, for *Jerſy*, *Iſle* of *Man*, and the *Barbadoes* yield to their Power; and *Oliver* in the next place bent all his thoughts to turn this *Rump* of a *Parliament* out of Doors, having done with them as much Miſchief as he well could: He looks now very big upon them, and had ſhewn by his behaviour, the Reſentment he had of their former ſawcy Expoſtulation of his management of the Affairs in *Scotland*, and when he came into the Houſe they all Crouch'd, and the fauning Speaker made his *Panegyrick*, with palpable Flattery, notwithſtanding it was moved in the Houſe, by ſome of his Creatures, that this Houſe ſhould be diſſolved, and Care taken for another to be Choſen; but this was a bitter Potion they knew not how to ſwallow. And upon this the *Levellers* are again ſet to work and Countenanced, who before were ſo much Cry'd down, that they might bait them to a Diſſolution, and that he might be Lord Paramount in *Nomine*, as well as he was already in *Re*. But yet there were two Obſtacles in his Way: The firſt was, the Duke of *Glouceſter* was too near him, he was yet a Priſoner in *Scarborow* Caſtle; him he cauſes to be removed, and ſent away into *Holland*; which was done by the order of the *Junto*, to the no ſmall joy of his Friends, that he had eſcaped out of the cruel Claws of theſe Bears with Life. This rub being removed, another more Difficult appeared, which was the War with *Holland*, and he very Rationally concluded, it would be too hard a Taſk for him, to make War both abroad with them and at home with his own Common-wealth, which he intended to pull down: Conſidering what a ſmall ſhare he had of the Love of the people, and that he was to ſet up himſelf, and Eſtabliſh his rule and Arbitrary Sway, by the Power of the Army only: and for this Reaſon, he was forced to let his Journy-men continue their Seats a little longer, and wait the Iſſue of this War.

This War being foreseen, to quiet the Peoples minds, they pass an Act of Grace or Oblivion, a Pardon for all Hostilities past, with an Intention of forgetting all Injuries, but upon Condition, of taking an Ingagement, which they impose upon the People, wherein they promise and Ingage, *To be true and Faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as then Established, without King or House of Lords.* But out of this Act, The Lord *Goring* and his Sons, Sr. *John Webster*, The executors of the *Arch-Bishop* of *Canterbury*, and the Murtherers of *Dorislaus* and *Ascham* were excepted.

Still several Addresses, Petitions, Declarations, and Desires, came from divers Counties, and Places, to the *Parliament*, for the putting a Period to their sitting, and for providing for future Representatives, which Perplext them; and were very distastful; seeing them so pressing, and after many put offs, and Reasons for their Continuance, they were forced to comply, and resolved *that the* longest *Day of their Sitting should be the* 5*th.* of *November, in the Year*, 1654. two years too long, as *Cromwell* thought; for he intended their Reign should be shorter, but his Projects being not yet Ripe, he awaited his oportunity. About the latter end of this year, they made an Act to banish *John Lilburn*, who was very troublesome to them, and whom it seems *Oliver* was much afraid of, Knowing him to be an Enemy ro his Ambitious Proceedings, and very popular. It was provided by this Act, that if he returned without leave from the State, he should suffer as a Felon.

Preparations for War being made on both sides, the States of *Holland*, seeing the *English* make an Act so Prejudicial to their Trade, and to prepare to maintain it against them, being somewhat fearful of the Event, sent over their Embassadors, *Myn Heeren Cate, Vander-Peer, Sharp*, and *Newport*, who found our *English* States very high, and made such demands, that the *Dutch* could not yield to, and so in the beginning of the year 1652 they get their Fleets to Sea, well Man'd and Equipped, *Marten Harpers Vantrump*, being the Admiral for the *Dutch*.

Popham

Popham being Dead, *Dean* and *Blake* are Admirals for the *English*, to whom afterwards General *Monk* was joyned, and for that end sent for out of *Scotland*, he having quieted all things there. The *Dutch* knowing the *English* laid claim to the Dominion of the narrow Seas, as their just Right and Due, had Commanded their Captains not to acknowledge their Soveraignty, by denying to strike their Flag, at the meeting of the *English* Ships in their own Seas, an Affront they knew would never be put up by the *English*, but ever was and ever will be disputed and revenged; upon this Quarrel the War began, Captain *Young* who commanded some of the *English* Frigots, seeing some *Dutch* Ships returning from the Streights, commanded their Admiral to strike his Flag, who did so, but their Vice-Admiral being likewise bid to do the same, absolutely refused, but after four or five Broad-sides was forced to take it down, and so they parted, their Embassadors being yet in Treaty, and in *England*; Captain *Young* was unwilling to Prosecute the business any farther, lest they should attribute to him the beginning of the War, which thus first began. But not long after they fell to it in Earnest. It shall not be my Task to give you a particular of this War, it being besides my Business, in which the *English* shewed great Courage, and Bravery; and in all Histories the like not to be parallel'd, and therefore I shall not altogether pass it over in silence, but briefly touch upon it for the Satisfaction of the Reader, who cannot but be pleased at their Success as *English-men*, tho otherwise Rebels to their King and Countrey.

The first Engagement between the two Fleets of the two States, was on the 19*th*. of *May* 1652; off of *Dover* Road, *Tromp* having forty two Ships, *Blake* but fifteen Frigots, but after the fight was begun, Captain *Bourn* came to his Assistance with eight Ships more, this fight lasted from two of the Clock till Night; the *English* getting the better, having not one Ship disabled, tho they had on both sides Exchanged above two Thousand Cannon shot, one of the *Dutch* Ships was Sunk, and an-

other taken: the next Morning *Van-Trump* ſailed for *Zealand*. The *Holland* Embaſſadors were yet in *London*, and diſ-avow *Tromp*'s Action in diſputing the Flag, as Raſh and without Orders, or knowledge of their Maſters; and deſired a Reſtitution of their Ship, but the people were ſo inflamed at the Relation of *Tromp*'s Cariage, that the Embaſſadors were fain to be Guarded to keep them ſafe from the Peoples rage: And upon this the *Holland* States diſpatch away an extraordinary Embaſſador, *Myn Heer Paw*, to endeavour to make up the Breach, and to Excuſe the raſhneſs of their Admiral. The Parliament hereupon Voted; that, *The States General ſhould Pay the Charges they had been at, and the Loſſes ſuſtained upon this Occaſion.* Secondly, *That this being Paid, there ſhould be a Reſtitution on either ſide of Ships and Goods taken.* Thirdly, *That a League ſhould be made between the two States.* Theſe Votes were ſent to the *Dutch* Embaſſadors, and they Communicated them to their Maſters; who liking them not, immediately recalled their Embaſſadors, and began Vigorouſly to proſecute the War.

Admiral *Blake* with ſeventy Ships ſails to the *Orkney* Iſlands, to diſturb their *Buſſes* fiſhing upon our Coaſts, and Sr. *George Aſcue* coming from the *Barbadoes*, with fifteen Ships is recruited and fitted for a reſerve. In the mean time *Tromp* gets to Sea with a hundred and twenty Ships, and endeavours to engage with *Blake*, but a Storm preventing them, they were forced both Home: *Blake* carrying with him about nine hundred Priſoners, which he had taken, and ſix men of War, which he took Guarding their *Buſſes*, This was the firſt Action after the War was declared.

The ſecond Engagement between theſe two States, was on the 16*th*. of *Auguſt* following, off of *Plimouth*, between Sr. *George Aſcue*, who had forty ſail, and *De Ruyter* who had a Fleet of fifty men of War; and was conveying thorow the Channel their Merchant men which were about fifty ſail more. Sr. *George* engaged the *Dutch*, with nine of his foremoſt Ships, and Charged thorow their Fleet: the *Dutch* had the Weather-gage, and night coming on, and the reſt of the

Fleet

Fleet not coming up, Sr. *George Aſcue* drew off and ſailed for *Plymouth*, and the *Dutch* into the *French* Ports to repair their Ships. Sr. *George* had the better of it, and had the whole Fleet engaged, it was thought he might have had an entire Victory. This was ſo repreſented to the *Rump* to his diſadvantage, that they laid him aſide, and never after would employ him in their Service, but then General *Monk* was ſent for, and Voted by the *Junto* to be joyned in Commiſſion with *Blake* and *Dean*. This was the ſecond fight with the *Dutch* in this War. About this time *Blake* lighting on the *French* at *Calis* took ſeven of their Ships, and aſſiſting the *Spaniards* beſieging *Dunkirk*, was a cauſe of the ſurrender of the Town by the Service he did.

On the 28*th*. of *October* was a Third fight, between the *Engliſh* aud the *Dutch*, *Van-Tromp* upon ſome diſcontent having laid down his Commiſſion, they made *Wit Wittens* Admiral, to whom they joyned *De Ruiter*: *Blake* had taken from the *Dutch* five weſt *India* Ships of great Value, and ſix Steights men Valued at 200000 *l*. which loſſes enraged the *Dutch*, and put them into Fury to fight. *Pen* was Vice-Admiral, and *Bourn* Rear Admiral of the *Engliſh* Fleet, who began this Battel; great Courage being ſhown on both ſides: the Rear Admiral of the *Dutch* was taken, two of their Ships ſunk, and a Third blown up; the *Engliſh* getting the better, *Wittens* got off with his Fleet, much ſhatter'd and Torn, being purſued within twelve Leagues of the *Maze*; and *Blake* returns into the *Downs* Victorious, having made the *Dutch* run for it.

The *Dutch* much troubled at this miſ-fortune, perſwade *Van-Tromp* to accept of the Command, knowing him to be an able Seaman; who at laſt yielded to their Deſires, and hopes to gain honour againſt the *Engliſh*: with eighty men of War, and ten fire Ships, he comes to the back of the *Godwin*. *Blake* had with him now not above forty ſail, yet with them reſolves to give Battel, and ſeeking his Enemy began a moſt furious and obſtinate incounter, on the 29*th*. of *November* 1652. which laſted from two in the Morning till ſix at Night, *Blake* in the

Tryumph,

Tryumph, with two more of his Ships were ingaged at one time with twenty of the beſt Ships of the *Dutch*. *Van-Tromp* and *De Ruyter* were much ſhattered; one of their Flag ſhips was blown up, but the *Dutch* over-powering them, got the Victory, and had not Night favoured the retreat of the *Engliſh* Fleet they had endanger'd the whole. The *Garland* and *Bona-venture* were taken by the *Dutch*, three ſunk, and one burnt. *Van-Trump* kept the Sea, and took ſome inconſiderable Prizes; which pufft him up with ſo much Vanity, as to cauſe him hang a Broom at his main top Maſt; ſaying he would ſweep the Seas of the *Engliſh* ſhip. This was the fourth Engagement.

The maintaining of this War againſt the potent *Dutch*, gained ſuch Reputation to theſe *Engliſh* States, as they were called, that the *French* by the Advice of *Mazereen*, ſent *Monſieur Bourdeaux* as an Agent from the *French* King, to acknowledge them. This Action of the *French* gave great diſtaſte to all the King of *England*'s Friends, but this Peace with *England* preſerved the *Cardinal*, being in ſome danger from the Princes of *France*. And now to maintain this War the *Junto* lay a heavy Tax upon the People of 120000 *l.* a Month.

Monk and *Dean* being come out of *Scotland* are joyned with *Blake*, and the Fleet equipping with all Expedition; which the *Dutch* States hearing of, ſent away to *Van-Tromp*, who was at Sea; Conducting home three hundred ſail of Merchant men, with ſeventy ſix men of War; and Commanded him to Block up the *Thames*, to hinder the *Engliſh* Fleet from coming forth; but to their great Amazement, the *Engliſh* got their Ships to Sea, and joyning thoſe at *Ports-mouth* made up eighty ſail, and over againſt *Portland* lay half Seas over expecting the *Dutch*. On the 18*th*. of *February* they diſcry'd them, and about eight in the Morning the fight began. *Blake* and *Dean* who were in the *Tryumph*, with twelve Ships more, encounter'd the Groſs of the *Dutch* Fleet; but was relieved at laſt by *Lawſon*, who performed his part exceeding Well. The Ship in which General *Monk* was, being a ſlow Sailor could not ſo ſoon come up to engage

as

as he would have had it, but he had a great ſhare in the Fight, and loſt many men aboard her. This Fight laſted three days, and the *Triumph* wherein two of the Generals were, received ſeven hundred Cannon ſhot in their Hull. The next day being *Saturday*, and the nineteenth of *Feb.* 1652. aſſoon as the *Engliſh* could overtake the *Dutch*, they engaged them again in the Afternoon, which was fought with much fury, *Tromp* ſtill endeavouring to ſave his Merchant Men, fought retreating, putting them before him; but ſpite of his teeth he loſt many of them, which were picked up by the *Engliſh*, with ſome of his Men of War. The third day in the Morning, being the twentieth, the fight was again renewed, and continued very fierce till four in the Afternoon; but the Wind being croſs to the *Engliſh*, *Van Tromp* got at laſt to *Callais* Sands, and ſo tyded it home. The *Dutch* loſt in the three days Fight eleven Men of War, and thirteen Merchants Ships, and had killed about fifteen hundred Men. The *Engliſh* loſt but one Ship, but had not many leſs ſlain than the Enemy. This was the fifth Engagement in which the *Engliſh* got much the better. About this time they erected their High Court of Juſtice in *Ireland*, by which many of the *Iriſh* ſuffered; among the reſt the noted Rebel Sir *Phelim Oneal* was hanged at *Dublin*.

The year 1652 being worn out, and the *Dutch* being by their ſeveral loſſes humbled, the King's Party cruſhed and impoveriſhed, now the Tax for the maintenance of the *Dutch* War coming in, and filling the Treaſury, 120000 pounds every month, the State owned by the *French*, and himſelf careſſed privately by *Mazareen*, with whom he had ſecret intelligence; but what was more, the arbitrary *Junto* perfectly hated by the People, he thought it now a convenient time to ſtep into the Throne, and to uſurp the ſupreme Power and Authority, and to take the Government into his own hands. To this end, he holds ſeveral Conſults with the Officers of the Army, and much faſting and praying there was among them, an extraordin.., Work being to be done.

Cromwell

Cromwell cajol'd them all; *Lambert* was deceiv'd in his hopes of ſucceeding *Oliver*, which he had made him to believe he intended. *Harriſon* was for pulling theſe old Repreſentatives out of their Seats, to make way for the Rule of the Saints. *Cromwell* knew how to pleaſe them all, that he might by them work his ends. All the Party *Harriſon* could make among the Congregations of *Feak*, *Rogers*, *Simſon*, and the reſt of that Gang, were for *Cromwell*, and all impatient to have the Parliament outed: and to help forward, there came forth dayly from the Army, Petitions, Addreſſes, Remonſtrances, and ſuch like Papers, for putting an end to this *Parliament*. But notwithſtanding all the ſpecious pretences, for the putting an end to this *Parliament*, many of the Officers very well perceived the drift of *Cromwell*, and what all would end in, *viz.* his getting the Monarchy into his own hands, which troubled them much; and ſome of them made open proteſts againſt it; for they that could not endure the Rule of a ſingle perſon, in their Lawful Prince, could much leſs endure to be tyrannized over by the arbitrary power of their equal. The chief of them that oppoſed his deſign, were Collonel *Venables*, Scout-Maſter-General *Downing*, Major *Streater* and others; *Streater* went about to give his Reaſons to the contrary, telling them that *Cromwell* deſign'd to ſet up himſelf, and that it was a betraying of their moſt glorious Cauſe, for which ſo much Blood had been ſpilt: but *Harriſon* interrupted him, and told him, that he was aſſured, the General did not ſeek himſelf in it, and did it to make way for the Rule of *Jeſus*, that he might have the Scepter. To whom *Streater* replyed, *That unleſs* Chriſt *came very ſuddenly, he would come too late.* For this oppoſition, *Cromwell* looks on him as his mortal Enemy, and claps him up into the *Gate-Houſe*. The *Junto* was very ſenſible of theſe Actings, but knew not which way to prevent them, yet they did what they could to make theſe Officers underſtand the inconveniences that would happen, by a ſudden diſſolving them, and that it would be the only way to preſerve the Nation, to fill up the Houſe with new

new elected Members, which would please the people, and their Acts would be received with greater Authority. But the Army answered them, they were grown so carnal and corrupt, that the people of God could expect no good from them, and that they would take care, that the supreme Government of the Land should be placed in the hands of such as truly feared God, and were of approved integrity.

These Debates between the *Parliament* and the Army spun out some time, and the *Junto* went about cunningly to secure themselves, by preparing an Act for the filling up their House, wherein such speed was made, that it was near passing the House. *Cromwell* being nettled, resolves to stay no longer; and to his Council of Officers he shewed, That if they should let the people to chuse new Representatives, it was a tempting of God, who would save them by the hands of a few, as in former times, and that five or six godly upright men might do more in one day, than the *Parliament* had done, or would do in a hundred. Upon this he takes with him *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and about eight more Officers of the Army, and on the three and twentieth day of *April*, 1653, he enters the House, and there after a short Speech, shewing them some reasons for the necessity of their being dissolved, he peremptorily declared them to be dissolved. But the Speaker refusing to leave the Chair, *Cromwell* began to huff, and fall into a passion, telling them they were a company of drunkards, whoremasters, Hipocrites, Knaves and Oppressors, and commanded that the Bauble the Mace should be took from them, and no more carried before them; and *Harrison* taking the Speaker by the Arm, lifted him out of his Chair; and having thus turned them out of doors, he lock'd them up, and set a Guard of Soldiers at them, and at all the Avenues, that they might not meet again in that place; and thus *exeunt Tyranni*, one Devil driving out another, to make way at last for their Lawful Prince. This done, *Cromwell* returning to his Council of Officers, told them of his Exploit, and let them know that now they must go hand in hand

hand with them, and juſtifie it by their lives and fortunes, they having adviſed him to it. He told them, that when he went to the Houſe, he did not think to do it, but perceiving the Spirit of God ſo ſtrongly upon him, he would no longer conſult Fleſh and Blood; for the Parliament intended to have perpetuated themſelves. This Action of his, tho arbitrary, illegal, and tyrannical, was generally applauded by all ſorts of people, theſe *Rumpers* were grown ſo very odious by their tyrannick Uſurpation. And the King's Friends both at home and abroad, were not a little joyful to ſee this Turn, and to behold them dethroned and trampled on, even in the midſt of their Laurels, obtained for their Victories over the *Dutch*. Grievous Muttering they kept for this violence done to them by their Servant, as they ſtiled him, thinking it none, when he did the like to thoſe ſecluded Members, that would not vote with them againſt the King: but as mad as they were, they ſaw no help for it, and it was not poſſible for them to get together, tho they would not own themſelves diſſolved; and thus our uſurping *Junto* went out like a Snuff, with a Stink, ſmelling very unſavourly in the Noſtrils of the whole Nation.

Thus far have I traced out to you, the Lines of the Image of Arbitrary, and Tyrannick Uſurpation, and how ugly and grim a Repreſentation it is, you who have ſeen it truly delineated may judge. You have ſeen this Titular Parliament unjuſtly ſeize upon the Government, by murthering their King, and againſt all Laws thruſt out two of the States of the Land, the Lords Spiritual firſt, and then the Lords temporal, and having now graſp'd the Government with rapacious hands, with the like Injuſtice and Arbitrarineſs, turn the greater part of their own Members out of Doors, and rule by a few bloody and tyrannical Uſurpers. You have likewiſe ſeen after what manner they have ſwayed the three Nations, by their own Arbitrary Wills and Pleaſures, as ſo many lawleſs Tyrants, upholding an Army only to cut the Peoples Throats, and to over-awe them, burthening them with Taxes, and oppreſſing them with a ſtanding Army, and

free

free Quarter, taking away their lives by an Arbitrary Court of Juſtice, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, and robbing and ſpoiling all men of their Eſtates, that oppoſed them, filling the Jayls thorowout the three Kingdoms with Priſoners: The Liberties of the Subject overthrown, *Magna Charta*, and all the Laws and Ancient Conſtitutions of *Parliaments* trodden under foot, and diſregarded, ſo as no man could call any thing his own: And in fine, all the People of *England* made Slaves, by theſe the *Keepers of their Liberties*; ſo that it was no wonder, that there was a general rejoycing at their fall, tho as yet it was but out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, having exchanged two hundred Tyrants for one, as Lawleſs, Boundleſs, and Arbitrary as they; or a *Rump* for an *Oliver*.

I ſhould now proceed to give a further Diſplay of this Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, under the Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, who had pull'd theſe down, only to ſet up himſelf: but before I enter upon it, I think it will not be ungrateful to the Reader, and not impertinent to my Deſign, to ſhew you what a ſort of men theſe were, who had thus long uſurped, by a brief Character of ſome of the chiefeſt of them, and what benefit they made of their pretended Godlineſs, giving one another Eſtates, out of the Kings, Queens, Biſhops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Lands.

And I will begin with *Oliver Cromwell*, the *Lucifer* of the reſt, who out-witted them all, and ruled by himſelf, with greater Power, and more abſolute Sway, than ever any Monarch of *England* did. He was very well deſcended, of a Knightly Family, in the County of *Huntington*, being born in *S. John's* Pariſh in the Town of *Huntington*, the twenty fifth of *April*, 1599, being the Son of Mr. *Robert Cromwell*: who was the third Son of Sir *Henry Cromwell*, a Gentleman of great worth, honored and beloved in Court and Country, whoſe eldeſt Son Sir *Oliver Cromwell*, a Gentleman well known for his Loyalty, and Uncle to this our *Oliver*, was his Godfather, and gave him his Name. His Mother was the

Daughter

Daughter of Sir *Richard Steward*, of *Ely*. They there-
fore were much miſtaken, who ſaid he was the Son of a
Brewer, tho indeed his Mother, (even in his Father's
Life-time) did manage a Brew-Houſe, by their Servants;
and after her Husbands death, continued the ſame, as an
honeſt means of Livelyhood, the Patrimony of a young-
er Brother being but ſmall. He was obſerved in his
Youth to be ambitious, willful and head-ſtrong, which
improved with his years, and always, and upon all oc-
caſions exerciſed the Impoſtor, under the mask of Hy-
pocriſie. However, he was bred at School, where he got
ſome ſmattering in the Rudiments of Learning, but was
ſo violent and head-ſtrong, and ſo very prone to robbing
Orchards and Dove-Houſes, that he grew the terror of
the Country, and paſt his Tutor's Correction. It was
about that time he dream'd he ſhould be King of *England*;
if it were not more than a Dream, a ſuggeſtion of ſome
evil Spirit; for he would often confidently report it in his
Youth, tho rebuked by his Father for it, and ſlaſh'd by
his Maſter *Dr. Bernard*, for his conſtant avouching it.
And acting in a Play in the School, going beyond his
Cue, he took a Crown, and put it on his own Head,
and as if inſpired, ſpake ſome big words with great au-
thority. Thence he was tranſlated to *Cambridge*, where
he was more noted for Foot-ball, Cudgelling, and
Wreſtling, than for his Studies, to which he little gave
his mind; and after his Father's death left the Univerſi-
ty; and returning home, fell to all manner of Licenti-
ouſneſs and Debauchery, and grew ſo diſtaſtful to his
Mother and Neighbourhood, that ſhe ſent him away to
London, and enters him into *Lincolns-Inn*, intending to
make him a Lawyer; but finding this place not agreeable
to his humor, he ſtayed not long before he returned back
into the Country, where he fell to his old Trade of De-
bauchery, always fighting, and in Quarrels, tho with
Pedlars, Tinkers, and ſuch like Fellows, skillful in hand-
ling the Quarter-Staff, ſo that none could over-match
him. This kind of life he led till he had ſpent his Pa-
trimony, and almoſt ruined his Mother; hated by the
Country

Country for his many Villanies committed, eſpecially by his Uncle and God-father Sr. *Oliver*, who could not endure to have him named. At laſt beginning to perceive his ruin, he feigned a Converſion; went to Church among the orthodox Divines, and ſo far inſinuated himſelf with them, that they deal with his Mothers Uncle Sr. *Robert Stewart*, a Gentleman of a Competent Eſtate in the Country, to take him into Favour, and to declare him his Heir, and who dying ſoon after, left him an Eſtate of five hundred pound a year; which quickly mouldred away, he having left of it not above forty or fifty Pounds a year. He then falls in with the Nonconformiſt Miniſters; entertains them at his Houſe, has Lectures, and exerciſes himſelf in Preaching and Praying, about which time he marries the Daughter of Sr. *James Boucher*; her name *Elizabeth*, and Kins-woman to Mr. *Hambden*, of *Buckinghamſhire*, and turns Farmer for five years with ill ſucceſs, but ſtill continuing his Preaching and Praying, was ſo much follow'd by the Faction; that they by a wile got him to be choſen a Burgeſs, for *Cambridge*, in the *Parliament* of 1640. when he was at his laſt Gaſp, and thinking to have Tranſplanted himſelf to New-*England*, and raiſed Mony for that purpoſe, which enabled him to ſtand a Candidate for Parliament man. And now joyning with *Hambden*, *Pym*, and the reſt of them, he began to blow up the Coals of Sedition; and to be noted amongſt them, tutored by them, till he grew quickly able to out-Wit them in their own Pernicious deſigns. But now having ſpent the utmoſt farthing of his Eſtate, and run in Debt, he was priviledged from Arreſts, by being a Member of *Parliament*; and now he betakes him into the Army, where he was a Captain under *Eſſex*, and where he became ſo Active and buſie, that he ſoon advanc'd himſelf, to be Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Mancheſter*.

I crave Pardon of the Reader for this Digreſſion, for I intend not to write his Life, but what I have related, may let you ſee what this great Man was *ab origine*, and therefore I ſhall ſay no more of his Actions in the Army,

my, they being ſufficiently known in Story, and how gradually he came to his Command of General, in the Army; part of which, as far as came within my Province that I have undertook, appears by the aforegoing Diſcourſe, whereby it is plainly manifeſted, by what Methods he attained his Greatneſs and Uſurpation. I could ſay no leſs of this their Ring-Leader, who deſerves a more particular Character, being ſo Notorious throughout Chriſtendom, and Famous for his Actions and Uſurpation; I ſhall not be ſo prolix in the reſt, but only name them to you. They ſay his Family deſcended from a branch of that *Cromwell*, in *Henry* the *8th.* dayes, who ruined the *Abbies*, and was fatal to the *Popiſh* Clergy, as this was to the *Proteſtant Epiſcopacy*; and that the Lineal deſcent, was from one *Williams* of *Glamorgan-ſhire*, who marrying the Daughter of that *Cromwell*, took on him the Name and transfer'd it to his Poſterity; but the direct Line of that *Cromwell*, is continued in the Lord *Cromwell*, and Earl of *Arglaſs* in *Ireland*. This our *Oliver* was a man, (as you have found by what I have related of him) of many Vices, of deep Diſſimulation and Hypocriſie, and tho no great Schollar, of great improved Parts; of a ſtrong robuſt Conſtitution, and naturally Martial, of deep reach, and a great Politician, after he had Converſed with *Ireton* his Son-in-Law, who taught him his Art. He had ſome Spice of Generoſity in him, which he ſhewed on ſome Occaſions, whether it was in his Nature, or Deſignedly, is to be doubted. But for his Courage and Reſolution, and ſkill in Martial Diſcipline, that is not to be queſtioned; and tho I cannot think he really embraced any Religion, as his particular Judgment, yet he embraced all that he found ſubſervient to his Ends, as may be perceived by his Actings and Intreagues, with the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, and all the other Sectaries, which were all alike to him; and no doubt *Epiſcopacy* it ſelf, would have been as pleaſing to his Conſcience, could he have Eſtabliſhed his Uſurpation by it. It was not therefore his Love of Vertue or Religion, that made him thruſt out all Vice from his Army; but that he knew

knew it would naturally ruin it, and that a ſtrict Diſcipline, and the Face of ſome Religion, would preſerve it; ſo that he never permitted among his Souldiers, Swearing, Drunkenneſs, Profaneneſs, Murther, Rapine, or Uncleanneſs; but puniſhing them Severely, his Camp was like a well regulated Common-wealth, and had he not been a Rebel, and employed his Parts to ſo wicked an end, as the Deſtruction of his King and Country; for the ſetting up himſelf, he might have paſſed among the Worthies of this Nation, and lawfully have become eminent in his Generation. He had two Sons, *Richard* and *Henry* (beſides one that dyed young) and four Daughters, one married to *Ireton*, afterwards to *Fleetwood*, one to the Lord *Fawkenbridge*, one to Mr. *Cleypool*, which he much lov'd, and was his ſecond Daughter, and one to the Lord of *Warwicks* Grand-child Mr. *Rich*, which was his youngeſt. *Cromwell* as well as the reſt had a ſhare in the Spoil, before he came to graſp all into the Paws of his *Protector-ſhip*, to which we have brought him, but we now conſider him as a *Rumper*, and by an *Ordinance* of that *Parliament* was conferred on him, out of the Marqueſs of *Worceſter*'s Eſtate 2500. pounds a year; a good Competency, tho ſome ſay the ſaid Lands ſo ſettled upon him, at their improved Vallue, were worth to him five Thouſand if not ſix Thouſand pounds a year; beſides four or five pound a day coming in as Lieutenant General, and Collonel of Horſe in the Army.

Ireton the Scribe, as ſome called him, being excellent at drawing Declarations, Petitions, and ſuch like things, to ſerve his politick Ends, was a man of a deep Reach, of much Diſpatch, of very dexterous and able Parts, he was *Cromwell*'s right Hand, and was a great Contriver of his greateſt Deſigns, and Stratagems; He was a *Common-wealth*'s man of the trueſt Stamp, and it is thought, had he lived, *Cromwell* had not aſſumed that Power to himſelf, which he had helpt him to mount to, by deſtroying the Government, which Advantage, *Cromwell* after his death laid hold on: He married *Cromwell*'s eldeſt Daughter, and tho poor before the Wars, liv'd very Splendidly,

ſplendidly kept his rich Coach gilt, that coſt two hundred pounds; and four gallant Horſes: He lick'd his Fingers with the reſt, and had he liv'd, no doubt, had got more; he died at *Limrick* in *Ireland*, of the Plague, being Deputy there, and was brought over into *England*, and by the *Junto* buried in great Pomp.

William Lenthal, the Speaker of this Houſe of Commons, had at one time given him by the Houſe ſix thouſand pounds for his good ſervices, beſides, as Speaker, he got two thouſand pounds *per annum*; and as Maſter of the *Rolls*, three thouſand pounds *per annum*, more; beſides Sales of Offices. And then he was for ſome time Chamberlain of *Cheſter*, Chancellor of the Dutchy of *Lancaſter*, worth to him one thouſand two hundred and thirty pounds *per annum*; and one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.

Bueſtrode Woitlock, Commiſſioner of the Great Seal, worth to him fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*; and had two thouſand pounds given him out of Mr. *Minn*'s Eſtate.

Edmond Prideaux, once a Commiſſioner of the great Seal, worth to him fifteen hundred pounds a year. Then by order of the *Junto* afterwards, he was permitted to practiſe within the Bar, as the King's Council, worth to him five hundred pounds *per annum*; was alſo Poſt-Maſter General, worth to him a hundred pounds ever Wedneſday night, and his Supper; the Earl of *Warwick* had the benefit of foreign Letters, which was worth to him five thouſand pounds *per annum*.

Oliver S. Johns, Solicitor to the King, afterwards made Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas, and was one of their Embaſſadors to *Holland*, he had the paſſing of all Pardons upon Commiſſions, worth to him forty thouſand pounds: he was called *The Dark-Lanthorn-Man*, a knowing Man in the Laws, and had the wit to keep out of danger, being againſt the putting the King to death, but a great *Privado* of *Oliver*'s, to whom he preferred his man *Thurlo*, who was his Secretary when he went Ambaſſador, and became afterwards *Oliver*'s Secretary

cretary of State: he died at *Utrecht* in *Holland*, since the King came in, being favourably looked upon by his Majesty, and honored for his parts.

Roger Hill, a Barrester of the *Temple*, of no Practice, and little Estate, till this Parliament, had from the House the Bishop of *Winchester*'s Mannor of *Taunton-Dean*, worth twelve hundred pounds a year after the lives were out.

Humphry Sulway had given him the King's Remembrancer's Place, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*.

Francis Rous was made Provost of *Eaton*, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, and had a Colledge Lease worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, more.

John Lilse, a Barrester of the *Temple*, was made Master of S. *Crosses*. a place for a Divine, worth eight hundred pounds *per annum*, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal. He was one of the King's Judges, and stabb'd beyond Seas since his Majesties Restoration.

Sir *William Allison*, an Alderman of *York*, made Clerk of the Hamper, worth a thousand pounds *per annum*, and given to him *Crab*-Castle, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, more, belonging to the Archbishop of *York*.

Thomas Hoyle, another Alderman of *York*, was made Treasurer-Remembrancer in the Exchequer, worth twelve hundred pounds *per annum*.

Tho. Pury, first a Weaver in *Gloceſter*, then a Country Solicitor, had given him three thousand pounds, and a place in the petty-Bag Office, worth four hundred pounds *per annum*.

Tho. Purey the younger, Son to the former, was made Receiver of the King's Rents in *Gloceſter* and *Wilts*, and Clerk of the Peace of *Gloceſterſhire*, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*, and Captain of Foot and Horse; who at the beginning of the Parliament was a Servant to an Attorney of *Staple-Inn*.

William Ellis made *Steward* of *Stepney*, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*.

Miles Corbet, at the beginning of the *Parliament* much

in

in debt, made one of the Regiſters of the *Chancery* worth ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*; beſides Chairman for Scandalous Miniſters, worth a thouſand pounds *per annum*, one of the King's Judges, and afterwards advanced to be a Judge in *Ireland*: executed at *Tybur* ſince the King came in.

John Goodwin made a Regiſter of *Chancery*, worth ſeven hundred pounds *per annum*.

Sir *Tho. Widdrington* a Commiſſioner of the Great Seal worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.

Edward Biſh made *Garter*-Herald, in the place of Sir *Ed. Walker*, worth ſix hundred pounds *per annum*.

Walter Strickland, Agent in *Holland* for the two Houſes of *Parliament*, worth to him five thouſand pounds.

Nicoolas Love made one of the ſix Clerks of the Chancery, worth two thouſand pounds *per annum*.

Sir *Gilbert Gerard* was Pay-maſter to the Army, had three pence *per* pound allowance, worth ſixty thouſand pounds, and Chancellor of the *Dutchy*, worth five hundred pounds *per annum*.

John Selden had given him five thouſand pounds, *John Bond*, Son of *Dennis Bond*, made Maſter of *Trinity-Hall* in *Cambridge*. Sir *Benjamin Rudiard* given him five thouſand pounds. *Lucas Hodges* made Cuſtomer of *Briſtol*. Sir *John Hipſly* given him two thouſand pounds in money, and made Keeper of three of the King's Parks, *Maribone*, *Hampton* and *Buſhy* Parks. Sir *Tho. Walſingham* had the Honor of *Elſham*. To *Benjamin Valentine* given five Thouſand pounds. To Sir *Henry Heyman*, 5000 *l.* *Denzil Hollis*, 5000 *l.* *Nat. Bacon* 3000 *l.* *John Stevens* out of the Lord *Aſtley*'s Compoſition; 1000 *l.* *Henry Smith* made one of the ſix Clerks worth 2000 *l. per annum*. *Robert Reynolds* given him 2000 *l.* beſides *Abbington-Hall* and Lands worth 400 *l. per annum*. Sir *John Clotworthy* was made Treaſurer for *Ireland*. *John Aſh* given him out of Mr. *Coventry*'s Compoſition 4000 *l.* out of Sir *Edward Moſeley*'s 1000 *l.* out of Mr. *Phillips*'s 1200 *l.* out of Sir *John Stowells* 8000 *l.* and Chair-man at *Goldſmiths-Hall*. *John Lenthal* Son to the Speaker made one of the ſix Clarks worth

worth 2000 *l. per annum*. *Francis Allin* once a Gold-smith made Customer for *London*. *Giles Green* Chair-man for the Navy. *Francis Peirpoint* had the Lands of the Arch-Bishop of *York*, lying in *Nottinghamshire*. *William Peirpoint* had 7000 *l.* given him and the Earl of *Kingston*'s personal Estate worth 40000*l*. *John Palmer* made Master of *All-Souls* in *Oxford* in *Dr. Sheldon*'s place, a Divine. *John Blackstone* a Shopkeeper in New-Castle, returned a Burgess and had 3000 *l.* given him out of one Gentlemans estate, and out of others as much as made up 12000 *l.* a Colemeters place worth 200 *l. per annum*: and the Bishop of *Durham*'s Castle at *Durham*, and Lands to great value. *Tho. Ceyley* long a Prisoner for Debt made Recorder of *Bridgwater*. To Mr. *Scawen* given 2000 *l*. *Isaack Pennington* once Lord Major of *London* had 7000 *l.* given him, and purchased good store of Bishops Lands. *Samuel Vassell*, 1000 *l.* given him. Sir *Will. Brereton* had the Arch-Bishops Lands and House at *Croydon*. *Ed. Harvey* a Silk-man made a Collonel and had the Bishop of *London*'s House and Mannor of *Fulham*. *Rich. Sulway* a Grocer made a Collonel. *Joh. Ven* a Collonel Governor of *Windsor* had 4000 *l* given him. *Phillip Skippon* Serjeant Major General of the Army, Major General of *London*, and Governour of *Bristol*, had 1000 *l. per annum* Lands of Inheritance given him. *Tho. Westrow* had the Bishop of *Worcester*'s Mannor at *Hartlerow*. Sir *Arthur Haslerig* had the Bishop of *Durham*'s House, Park and Mannor of *Aukeland*, and 6500 *l.* in money given him. Lord *Gray* of *Grooby* had the Queens mannor House, Park and Lands at *Holdenby*. Sir *Will. Constable* restored to Lands, sold to Sir *Marmaduke Langly* worth 25000 *l.* Sir *Will Purefoy* had given him 1500 *l. Wal. Long* 5000 *l* given him, *Michael Oldsworth* keeper of *Windsor* Park, and had a share out of Sir *Will. Compton*'s Office, worth 3000 *l.* a year, divided betwixt him and his Lord. *Tho. Scot*

a Brewers Clark had *Lambeth* House. Mr. *Ashurst* 1000 *l.* given him; besides every Member of the House, which was when full 516 Persons, bytheir own order allow'd themselves 4 *l. per.* week a man, which amounts to 110000 *l per annum.* They gave to Collonel *Hamond* Governour of the Isle of *Wight* for his Table 20 *l.* a week, a 1000 *l.* in money and 500 *l.* a year Land. Collonel *Mitton* 5000 *l.* in mony, *Cornelius Holland* a poor Boy and waited on Sir *Hen. Vain*, when Comptrouler of the Princes House. Made Commissioner for the Revenue of the King Queen and Prince, Farmer of the Kings feeding Grounds in *Buckinghamshire* worth 2000 *l. per annum* at 200 *l. per annum* Rent. Possessor of *Somerset-house*; Keeper of *Richmond* House, Commissioner for the Garrisons of *White-Hall* and the *Mews*, an Office in the *Mint* which enabled him to give 5000 *l.* with his Daughter; this was one of the Kings Judges. Sir *Hen. Vain* Senior, had the Bishop of *Durham*'s mannor and Park at *Evenwood*, and had given him 5000 *l.* and was Chair-man of the Kings Queens and Princes Revenue. Sir *Hen Vain Junior* a subtil Cunning pated Man, a fifth Monarchy-man, he was made Treasurer of the Navy, worth 6000 *l.* a year. Sir *Tho. Trenchard* given him 1200 *l.* He marries his Daughter to a *Malignant*, gives securityfor the Payment of the portion being 1200 *l.* gets his Son in Law sequestred, discovers the Debt, and hath it given him for his Fidelity to the State: A new way to pay Portions. *Will. Bingham* Governour of *Pool* had 1000 *l.* given him. To Collonel *Joh. Sydenham* 1000 *l. Joh. Glyn* Recorder of *London*, was Clark of the *Pells* worth 1000 *l. per annum*: and afterwards Lord Chief Justice. *Joh. Bell* an Apothecary beng intrusted with money was sued and said he could not answer without breach of *Parliament*. Sir *Walter Earl* Collonel of Horse, and Lieutenant of the Ordnance worth in times of Peace 1000 *l. per annum*, in War 5000 *l. per annum.*

Alderman

Alderman Atkins Treasurer at War. *Gregory Clement* a Merchant and one of the Kings Judges. *John Rowles* had given him one thousand five hundred pound out of Sir *John Wor-nham's* Estate. *Edward Ash* a Woollen-Draper Treasurer for the providing of Cloaths for the *Irish* Souldiers. Sir *John Danvers* by a Parliamentary proceeding overthrew his brothers Will, and got the Estate worth 30000 *l.* *Hen. Herbert*, given him 3000 *l.* and the Plunder of *Ragland* Castle. To *Fenwick* 500 *l.* *Gilbert Millington* 1000 *l.* and Chair-man to the Committee of plundred Ministers. To the two *Darbys* 5000 *l.* *Robert Cecil* Son to the Earl of *Salisbury* Collonel of Horse. Serjeant *Wild* a Judge, a 1000 *l.* given him after the Hanging of Captain *Burley*, out of the Privy Purse, and it is said he had 1000 *l.* more after the aquital of Mr. *Rolf* who was accused for an intention of murthering the late King.

Of the City several Aldermen, Common-Councel, and others, who had great Benefits by this Parliament some of whom were of it. *John Warner* Lord Major was one of the Treasurers of War; and Treasurer of the receit of all Monies due upon the Ordinance of 3*d.* *August* 1643. Treasurer of the loan money: Purchased the Arch-Bishop of *York's* best House, Castle and Mannor of *Caywoood*. Sir *John Wolleston* Alderman, Treasurer of War, Treasurer for Plate, Treasurer for loan Money, Say-Master of the *Mint*, Trustee of the sail of Bishops Lands: Purchased the Bishop of *London's* Land at *High-Gate*. Alderman *Gibbs* got seven or eight thousand pounds, by melting the Plate and Bodkins at *Guild-Hall*, one of the Treasurers for 20000 *l.* to pay the *Scots*, a Trustee for Bishops Lands and Treasurer for Rents and Monies raised by them.

Alderman *Fowks* a Commissioner for the Customs refused to account upon Oath because of a tender Conscience, Treasurer for the payment of Wagoners, a Trustee for Bishops Lands and Controuler of their Accounts, had first 200 pound *per annum*, and after by their Additional Ordinance 300 *per annum* more standing Fee.

Alderman *Pennington* was Lieutenant of the Tower, being intrusted with 6000 pound, discovers it to the *Parliament*, beggs it and had it granted. Alderman *Pack* Commissioner for the Customs Treasurer at War and bought the Bishop of *Lincoln's* House and Mannor at *Bugden*.

Alderman *Andrews* Treasurer at War, and Commissioner for the Customs. Alderman *Avery* Commissioner for the Customs; Treasurer for Sequestrations, and Trustee for the sale of Bishops Lands. Alderman *Culham* Commissioner of the Excise worth 1200 pound *per annum*. Alderman *Foot* the same. Alderman *Edmonds* the same. *Owen Roe* Lieutenant Collonel and keeper of the Magazeen for stores. Alderman *Detwick* Treasurer at War With many more too long to be named.

They allowed for their Military Officers, a Collonel of Foot 30 shillings a day

30 *s.* day; a Lieutenant Collonel 15 *s.* a Major 9 *s.* a Captain 15 *s.* A Collonel of Horſe 30 *s.* a day for himſelf, and for ſix Horſes 21 *s.* a day, a Lieutenant Collonel 15 *s.* a day for himſelf, and for ſix Horſes 21 *s.* a Captain of Horſe 24 *s.* a day, and for ſix Horſes 21 *s.* a day. A Collonel Lieutenant Collonel and Major received their Captains pay beſides. So that it was no wonder ſo many of the *Parliament* men got Commands in the Army. It was thought that there was near twenty Millions ſhared in Lands, Revenues, Incomes, and money amongſt them. To *Bradſhaw* their Preſident of their High Court of Juſtice, the Kings Houſe and Parks at *Eltham* was given, and to *Bulſtrode Whitlock*, *Greenwich*. *Barkſtead* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, a poor Goldſmith bought at two or three years purchaſe as much Biſhops Lands as coſt 10000 *l.* Mr. *Boon* who they ſay had been a Tapſter a Member of the Houſe, had given him 6000 *l.* To *Harry Martin* 3000 *l.* To *Blackſtone*'s Wife and Children 3000 *l.* out of the Earl of *New-Caſtle* and Lord *Witherington*'s Eſtates: and 500 *l.* to his brother. Upon the General, out of the Lands of the Duke of *Buckingham*'s Eſtate and his Brothers the Lord *Francis Villers* 4000 *l. per annum*. *Clarendon* Park beſtow'd on the Earl of *Pembroke*. 4868 *l.* to the Lord *Liſle*. To *Bradſhaw* more 2000 *l.* Land *per annum*, and 1000 *l.* in money. *Cook* for Acting the part of Attorny General againſt the late King had beſtowed on him St. *Croſſes* Hoſpital. The new Park in *Surry* beſtowed on the *City* that they might not want Veniſon. Collonel *Martin*'s account brought into the Houſe 3*d. July* 1645. his Arrears amounting to 25000 *l.* order'd him, and 1000 *l. per annum* Land to be ſetled upon him and his Heirs. To Collonel *Feilder* 1300 *l.* To *Scobel* their Clark once a poor Clark in *Chancery*, and wrot for 2*d.* a ſheet, a Penſion of 500 *l.* a year, and an Employment in the ſale of publick Lands worth 1000 *l.* a year and 6 *s.* 8*d.* Fee for every Order taken forth. More given to *Bradſhaw*, *Somerhill* belonging to the Earl of St. *Alben*'s. To the Lord *Brohill* 2000 *l.* I am afraid I have tyred my Reader, in going about to enumerate the many Gifts they order'd one to another, but that I might name much more, this may ſuffice to ſhew what this *Parliament* did with the Kingdoms monies, to gratifie one another and to ſhare the prey among themſelves, of the Kingdom, who groaned under Taxes, and of the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Biſhops Lands, of Malignants Eſtates, Compoſition, Exciſe, &c. The like never was read in Hiſtory, and therefore you may not wonder, that theſe men ſhould be ſo unwilling to leave their Seats, and disband, but to ſit to advantage themſelves if they could. By what you have read, it plainly appears alſo, what ſort of men they were, moſt of them, or very many of them, of the ſcum of the people, upſtarts, of mechanical breeding, ſordid, covetous Wretches, Hypocrites, pretending Religion, and making Godlineſs their gain. I have done with them, and ſhall name but one or two more.

Dr.

Dr. *Doriſlaus*, who was Kill'd in *Holland*, had been formerly a poor *School-Maſter* in *Holland*, whence he came to *Oxford*, and read the Hiſtory-Lecture there, in which he then decry'd *Monarchy*, was complained of, and forgiven by the King's Benignity. He then became *Judge-Advocate* in the King's Army, againſt the *Scots*, and had the like Employ afterwards againſt the King under *Eſſex*, and then under *Fairfax*, gaining well in his employment, and by that of drawing up the bloody Charge againſt the King, for which ſome Cavaliers (ſome ſay *Iriſh*, others *Scotch*-men, in revenge of *Hamilton*'s Death) kill'd him. His Wife and Children had allowances by the *Parliament*: but I cannot here forbear to mention *Haſelrig*'s bloody propoſition upon his Death; who moved, That ſix Gentlemen of the beſt quality, *Royaliſts*, might be put to Death in Revenge of *Doriſlaus*, to deter men from the like attempt hereafter. This was a *Rumper's* Juſtice, and may ſerve for his Character., a blind Zealot, furious, hot-headed, raſh, unjuſt, and an hypocrite; a great *Commonwealths*-man, and an Enemy to *Oliver*.

Hariſon was a Fifth-*Monarchy*-man, a great Speaker, after his Canting way, acted with *Cromwell*, till he ſaw he ſet up himſelf inſtead of King *Jeſus*, and his Saints, ſuch as himſelf; then a ſtiff Oppoſer of *Monarchy*, and would again have brought in Anarchy and Confuſion; a man of no extraordinary Parts, but reſolute and turbulent, ever heading a faction, and dyed impenitent, adhering to his wicked Principles.

Lambert was a good Soldier, had a great deſigning head, Ambitious, but outwitted by *Cromwell*, of great Power in the Army, and beloved by the factious Sectaries; ſome have thought he was then a *Papiſt*, (for he prov'd one ſince) and carried on the *Jeſuits* deſigns.

Fleetwood was a perſon of a pretended great Devotion, but of a ſecret and violent Ambition, and it was thought glad of *Richard*'s fall, hoping to ſucceed, but fool'd by *Lambert*, as well as formerly by *Cromwell*;

and though General, had not the reſolution of a man in his place, and therefore called the meek Knight. *Jones* was a flattering *Sycophant*. *Desborow* a ſordid Clown. *Pride* an upſtart Dray-man. *Hewſon* a Valiant Cobler. *Whaly* a Merchant. Sir *Henry Mildmay* an unworthy Turncoat and Rebel. The reſt much of the ſame ſtamp. They had their Clergy too of the ſame Cloth, as the Poſt-Prieſt *Vavaſor Powel*, the Fool *Cradock*. The Incendiary *John Goodwin*. *Love*, *Jenkins*, of both ſorts *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who ſerved their turns, to trumpet forth Sedition to the People, and to extoll their Acts, for which they ſhared in the prey: But above all the reſt, was the notorious and blaſphemous wretch, Pander and Buffoon, *Hugh Peters*; and becauſe he was Chaplain in Ordinary to two great Potentates, *Lucifer* and *Oliver Cromwell*, I care not if I give you a little larger account of the man.

His Father was a Miniſter of the Church of *England*, living near *Foy* in *Cornwales*, where his Son *Hugh* was born, and bred up by him at School, inſtructed well in the Principles of the Proteſtant Religion, ſent thence to *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Jeſus* College, but was ſoon Expelled the Univerſity for his lacivious life: He gets to *London*, and there turns Player in *Shakeſpear's* Company, uſually acting the Jeſter or Fool; but weary of that, by means of a Gentleman he became acquainted with, he got a Free-School, with the Stipend of 24 *l.* a year, at the Gentleman's diſpoſe in *Eſſex*. After ſome time this Pedant, growing familiarly acquainted with a Gentlewoman near, who liked his Drolling diſcourſe, and uſed to entertain him, being one that had an Eſtate, he ſo ordered his buſineſs, that he one night ſurpriſed her in Bed, and getting in to her, had a Comrade that came and ſurpriſed them, before the ſtrugling Gentlewoman could get forth of his Arms, who ſaluting them Man and Wife, cauſed the trepanned Woman, to avoid the ſhame, to conſent to marry him. After this he takes Holy Orders, and was by Doctor

Doctor *Mountaine*, Biſhop of *London*, Ordained Prieſt and Deacon, giving the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, which he took. And now beginning to Preach, he grows popular; and was much applauded among the females, whom he ever ſought to pleaſe, ſo that he got to be *Lecturer* of St. *Sepulchres* in *London*, and continued there near Twenty years. Here he turns *Independent*, and his Wife being dead, he lead ſo beaſtly and ſcandalous life, that being detected, and proſecuted at Law for many Miſdemeanors, he flyes over to *Amſterdam*, where continuing the like pranks, he goes at laſt to *New-England*, where he Marries another Wife; but that not keeping him Chaſt, he began to grow odious amongſt the Brethren; and the Wars then breaking forth in *England*, he returns, and is entertained as a rideing Parſon in the Army, and at laſt becomes the *Parliaments* great *Zany*, Preaching for the Cauſe, and jugling the Women out of their Thimbles and Bodkins, by which means he became *Oliver*'s great *Privado*, and with *Ireton* was admitted of the *Cabal* in contriving his late Majeſtie's Death; for which, and his other good Services, being a Col. under *Oliver* in his *Iriſh* Expedition, he had given him 300 *l. per annum* out of the Lord *Worceſter*'s Lands, in the *Woulds* in *Worceſter-ſhire*, and, as they ſay, the King's Library at St. *James*'s; and was Chaplain in Pay to ſix Regiments. But at laſt had a more deſerved Reward, an Halter, being taken in *Southwark*, was at laſt Executed for his Treaſons, and dyed like a Sot. I ſhall conclude with him, and now proceed to the ſecond part of my draught of *Arbitrary Government*, under the Power and Tyranny of that notorious Uſurper *Oliver*.

I ſhall now proceed to the ſecond Act of this Tragical Uſurpation, and expoſe to your view the Tyrannick Uſurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*; who now as General of the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and

Ireland, had the full and ſole Authority, Power and Government, of the Three Nations in his hands. Yet this would not ſerve his turn, he muſt have ſome ſplendid Title, and Royal Enſigns, to ſhew he reigned not by the Power of the Sword, which would render him odious to the People, though in effect it was the ſame thing: But there is much in State and Ceremony, eſpecially where lawful right is not, to give a luſtre; and the name of King, with the Ornament of a Crown, is the thing ambitioned, or ſome thing like it is to be had, if the other could not be obtained. But this is not yet to be reach'd, he muſt proceed methodically, and like the Tyrant *Richard* the Third, intreated much to accept of what he greatly deſired. The firſt thing *Oliver* does, after he had thruſt the *Rump-Parliament* out of doors, was to put forth a *Declaration* of the Reaſons for Diſſolving the Long Parliament, who had deſigned to perpetuate themſelves, deſiring all good people to ſeek God for him, that he might not doe any thing to diſhonour his Name, and that they ſhould peaceably follow their Vocations, as when the *Parliament* was ſitting, and that all Judges, Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and Publick Miniſters whatſoever, ſhould proceed in their Offices and Places, and that the Writs ſhould run in the ſame ſtile as before, of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*. And then out of his Chief Officers of the Army, and his Confidents, he Creates a Council of State, who were to manage all affairs, till a Parliament could be called. Thus the Laws and Liberties of the People, and the whole Civil State and Government of *England*, depended upon the Sword, and the Arbitrary Will and Pleaſure of a General, and ſome few of his Military Officers. Theſe men, to ingratiate themſelves with the people, leſſen the Monthly Tax from 120000 *l.* to 90000 *l.* a Month; and to keep fair

fair with the *Presbyterian*, who yet kept up their form of Church-worſhip, and the moſt of one publick perſwaſion, they prohibited all diſturbances in the Church, which was then frequent, and the Phanaticks Licentiouſneſs in the Army, which ſwarmed with *Anabaptiſts*, *Ranters*, *Quakers*, *Seekers*, and other ſtrange new Lights, and who were ſet a madding after the poſſeſſion of the remaining Revenue of Church-Lands, Tythes, Glebe, Impropriations, often addreſſing to that purpoſe, as no remains of *Dagon* might be left. *Oliver* at this time alſo was Courted by the *French* Ambaſſador *Burdoe*, in the behalf of his Maſter, leſt he ſhould favour his Rebels, and which he gave him aſſurance he would not doe, and though ſolicited on the other ſide, he would not favour Enemies to Monarchy, already looking upon himſelf to be a Monarch.

The *Dutch* thought now to take the advantage of theſe Diviſions in *England*, and very early got their Fleet to Sea, but no great Commotion following thereupon at home, they had leaſure to look after their Sea-affairs, and getting forth the Fleet under *Blake*, *Monk* and *Dean*, on the ſecond of *June* 1653, they meet the *Dutch* on the Coaſts of *Flanders*, Commanded by *Van Tromp* in chief, and under him the two *Everſons*, *de Wit*, and *Ruytier*, all ſtout, expert and able Sea-men. *Pen* was Vice-Admiral of our Fleet, and *Lawſon* Rear-Admiral. The *Dutch* had One hundred and four Men of War, Twelve Galliots, and Nine Fire-Ships: the *Engliſh* had One hundred Ships of all ſorts: *Monk* and *Dean* were in one Ship; the Fight begun about Eleven of the Clock at Noon, and the firſt Broad-ſide from the Enemy, carried away General *Dean*, being ſhot in two by a Cannon Bullet, cloſe by *Monk*'s ſide, who flinging a Cloak over his body, bid the Soldiers to mind their buſineſs, and unconcerned apply'd himſelf

to the Battel, continued with much fury on both ſides, as long as they had light. The next morning *Monk* finding himſelf near the *Dutch*, they again furiouſly engaged each other; and *Monk* preſſed ſo hard upon them, that he ſunk ſix of their beſt Ships, and two others were blown up, and eleven Ships taken, and One thouſand three hundred and fifty Priſoners; and had not the *Dutch* got upon the Flats near *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, where our great Ships could not come at them, moſt of their Fleet had been ruined or taken. The *Engliſh* had not one Ship loſt or diſabled; and excepting General *Dean*, but one Captain loſt, and about One hundred and fifty Men, and few hurt. General *Blake* came not in till towards the end of the Fight, with Eighteen freſh Ships. This was the ſixth Engagement with the *Dutch* in this War.

The *Engliſh* Fleet ride before the *Texel* and the *Vly*, and now let the *Dutch* ſee they were Conquerors; which ſo humbled them, that they ſent away a Veſſel with a white Flag for *England*, with a Meſſenger to prepare way for two Ambaſſadors to Treat of Peace; however that they might make it on eaſier terms, they prepare with all ſpeed they can to recruit their Fleet, and on the Twenty-ninth of *July* following, in the morning, the *Engliſh* diſcry them again with One hundred and twenty five Sail of Ships, divided into four Squadrons, under *Tromp*, *Everſon*, *Ruyter* and *Wit Wittens*. The *Engliſh* Fleet conſiſted of One hundred and ſix Ships, under the Command of *Monk* in chief, for *Blake* was ſick, *Pen* Vice-Admiral, and *Lawſon* Rear-Admiral: the Battel began by ſix in the morning, and continued till night parted them, and the next morning again both fell to it, with that bloody fury, that they made the moſt cruel Fight that ever was: Orders being given neither to give nor take quarter. *Everſon*'s Ship

Ship was ſunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Tromp* ſhot, with a Musket-bullet and ſlain on the poop of his Ship, whereby his men were ſo daunted, that hoiſting out all the Sail they could, they made away to the *Texel*. The *Engliſh* bought this Victory dear, having loſt Four hundred Men and Eight Captains, and Seven hundred wounded, with Five Commanders, yet loſt but one Ship. On the *Dutch* ſide was loſt, beſides their Admiral *Tromp*, Thirty-three Ships or more, out of which the *Engliſh* ſaved ſwiming in the Sea, Twelve hundred Men and Five Captains, *Monk* returning victorious with their Priſoners to *Solebay*; where he ſtayed not long, e're he returned to ply upon the *Dutch* Coaſts, aud to diſturb their Trade, and to let them ſee the *Engliſh* were their Conquerors. This was the ſeventh and laſt Engagement in this War. For now the *Dutch* having enough of it, made a Peace with *Cromwell*, which he might have had almoſt upon any terms, had he not been ſo greedy of ſetting himſelf up in the Throne, beginning alſo to grow jealous of the great Actions of General *Monk*, whom he had a deſire to ſend further from him.

But before this laſt Fight, the *Parliament* called by *Cromwell*, under his Hand and Seal, directed to each man, ſuch as he picked out, godly men as he called them, fit for his turn, about One hundred and forty-two of them in all, aſſembled at *White-Hall* on the Fourth of *July*, where they choſe one Mr. *Rous*, a *Corniſh* man, Speaker, one that had been by the late *Parliament* made Provoſt of *Eaton*. *Cromwell* in a ſet Speech declares to them the occaſion of their Meeting, with his old way of Canting full of Scripture. To theſe men a company of obſcure fellows, moſt of them great Phanaticks, the Council of State ſurrender up their Power, that they might afterwards give

it to *Cromwell*. Theſe Adjourn themſelves to *Weſtminſter*, where they ſit and call themſelves the ſupreme Authority of the Nation, and begin to form Committies for the diſpatch of Buſineſs. But this *Parliament* called *Barebones* Parliament from a Leatherſeller a Member thereof, and conſiſting as I have ſaid of ſuch obſcure Perſons, that moſt of them were hardly known in the Counties where they were born, began to make ſuch ridiculous Acts, and ſo diſpleaſing to the people, that ſome thought *Cromwell* had called together this little Parliament to bring Parliaments into contempt, the better to devolve the Ruling Power on himſelf as a Monarch. One of their Acts was, that none ſhould be married without a Juſtice of Peace, and the Banes asked in the Market-place three ſeveral Market-daies. Thus the Prieſthood was invaded, and placed in the Civil Magiſtrate. Then they took off the Penal Law of the Engagement, to acknowledge the late *Rump*, whereby it was ordered, that no man ſhould be admitted to ſue in Law, in any Court, that had not taken it. They voted againſt Tythes and the Univerſities as *Antichriſtian*. They alſo were going in hand with cancelling the Law, and all Law Books, and ſo make a new Code more befitting their own turns, and for the eſtabliſhing of the Saints, as they called themſelves. They were alſo upon making an Act, that one Parliament ſhould upon their diſſolving, have power to call another, and ſo to make Parliaments perpetual. This was not to be endured by the *Oliverian* Party, who expected now to ſolace themſelves under the ſhadow of his greatneſs. And on the twelfth of *December* this Party in the Houſe with the Speaker, made a Motion for their diſſolution, declaring that their ſitting any longer would not be for the good of the Nation. Many of the Committee Blades hardly warm in their

their ſeats were ſtartled at it, theſe began to ſtand up, ſtifly pleading for the Cauſe of God, as they called it, and ſhewing they could not leave the *Commonwealth* and the People of God committed to their charge ſo ſoon, which would leave them to utter ruine: and *Hariſon* and *Squib* a great Sequeſtrator, were very zealous in defence of their own Authority. But *Oliver*'s Party, being the greater, aroſe, and with their Speaker *Rous* left the Houſe, and the Fifth-monarchy Saints ſitting in it, who having ſought God, reſolved to continue ſitting. *Rous* in the mean time with the Mace before him, and his Followers, go to *Whitehall*, and there reſign to *Oliver* the Inſtrument of Power he had given them, that made them a Parliament, with notice how they had left their fellows ſitting. *Oliver* returns them his thanks, and kindly receives their Preſent, and preſently diſpatches a Confident of his, Colonel *White*, with a Guard of Red-coates, to turn the fag end or *Rump* of this little Parliament out of the Houſe; who entring the Houſe commanded them in the name of the General to depart, declaring them to be diſſolved; but they told him they were upon earneſt buſineſs, and therefore deſired that he would not diſturb them; for they were ſeeking God: to which he replied *piſh, is that all? 'tis to no purpoſe, for God has not been within theſe walls this twelve years*, and ſo fairly compelled them to go out of the Houſe, and to ſeek God ſomewhere elſe.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army, had prepared an Inſtrument of Government, on which foundation they erected their new Dominion in a ſingle Perſon, entreating their General to accept of the Government, under the Title of *Protector* of the *Commonwealth* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and thus a Rotation is made from a Republick, to a ſingle Perſon; and

Arbitrary Tyranny, not the Monarchy is reſtored, and inſtead of the many Tyrants, one as boundleſs is conſtituted by a Military Power. Good man, with his uſual diſſimulation and Hypocriſie he refuſed it, with much ſeeming modeſty, what he ſo long had ſought and ambitioned, but being preſſed, and by being made ſenſible of the great neceſſity of it, for the upholding the Nation, he at laſt accepts it, and is inſtalled with great pomp in *Weſtminſter Hall*, attended by the Lords Commiſſioners of the great Seal, all the Judges in their Robes, the Serjeants and learned Counſellors at Law, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, in their Scarlets, and all the chief Officers of the Army: Being ſeated in a great Chair of State, and the Inſtrument read unto him, this Oath was adminiſtred. *I promiſe in the preſence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and things contained in the Inſtrument, but to obſerve and cauſe the ſame to be obſerved; and in all things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtomes thereof; and to ſeek their peace, and to cauſe Juſtice and Law to be equally adminiſtred.* But how well he kept this Oath you may perceive by the ſequell of his Reign. Having taken this Oath, putting on his Hat, the Commiſſioners ſurrender into his Hand the great Seal, and the Lord Mayor the City Sword, and Cap of maintenance, which he reſpectively returned to them again, and then returned in the ſame pomp to *Whitehall*. The chief Heads of this Inſtrument (as they called it) of Government were. Firſt, That a Parliament ſhould be called every three years. Second, That the firſt ſhould aſſemble the third of *September*, 1654. Third, That no Parliament ſhould be diſſolved till they had ſate five Months. Fourth, That ſuch Bills as ſhould be offered to the *Protector* by the Parliament, if he aſſented not in twenty dayes ſhould be Laws without him.

Fifth,

Fifth, That his Council ſhould not exceed the number of twenty one, nor be leſs than thirteen. Sixth, That immediately after the death of the preſent and ſucceeding *Protectors*, the Council ſhall chooſe another *Protector*, before they riſe. Seventh, That no *Protector* after the preſent ſhould be General of the Army. Eighth, That the *Protector* ſhould have power to make War or Peace. This they denyed to the King. Ninth, That in the Intervals of Parliaments, the *Protector* and his Council may make ſome Laws, that ſhould be binding to the Subject. Here is a prerogative granted beyond any of the Kings of *England*. Tenth, That in the Parliament ſhould be four hundred Engliſh, thirty Scotch, and thirty Iriſh. The ſummons for the Parliament to paſs under the Great Seal to the Sheriffs of the Counties, and Elections to be made more equally than formerly. If the *Protector* deny to iſſue out Writs at the time appointed, then the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal to doe it without him, under the pain of High Treaſon. No Royaliſt, Iriſh Rebel, or Papiſt to be elected, and if they were, they were to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their Goods. None to be elected but ſuch as feared God: and none were capable to elect that were not worth two hundred pound. A Revenue to be raiſed for the conſtant maintenance of ten thouſand Horſe and fifteen thouſand Foot, and the Navy not to be leſſened. All forfeited Lands unſold to belong to the *Protector*. All Places of Truſt to be in his diſpoſal. All Laws in favour of *Epiſcopacy* and *Popery* to be abrogated, and beſides them, a tolleration to be granted. And preſently upon this he puts forth a Proclamation, declaring the diſſolution of the Parliament, and his being made Lord *Protector* of the three Nations, commanding and ſtrictly charging all Perſons of what quality or condition ſoever,

ver, and to take notice thereof, and to conform and ſubmit themſelves to the Government ſo eſtabliſhed: And that all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, *&c.* are required to publiſh this Proclamation, to the end none may have cauſe to pretend ignorance in this behalf. Now he begins to ſhew his Authority. The *Presbyterians* were rather tollerated than countenanced; yet ſome few of them that would comply and fawne on his Greatneſs, he ſhew'd ſome favour to, though he boaſted he had brought under the Pride and Arrogancy of that Sect: The *Independents* and *Anabaptiſts* were more in his favour, being then of moſt command in the Army, and moſt ready to ſupport his Uſurpation: yet the Fifth-monarchy Men, who had helpt to raiſe him, he could not endure, and therefore he impriſoned *Feak* and *Rogers* in *Windſor* Caſtle, where he kept them for a long while: Then he ſet *Feak*'s Party, and *Kiffins* the *Anabaptiſt*, one in his favour, together by the ears, and raiſed equal diviſions between the *Preſbyterians* and the *Independents*, as a ballance, the better to ſecure himſelf. Theſe Tryumphs of *Oliver* ſo diſguſted *Hariſon* that he turn'd Preacher, or Railer, openly againſt him and his Government: All the old Commonwealths Men were diſcountenanced, as *Vain*, *Hazelrig*, *Bradſhaw*, *Scot* and others, ſo that he was at this time to ſtrengthen himſelf with the Sectaries whom he courted. His firſt Council were Colonel *Mountague*, *Lambert*, Viſcount *Liſle*, *Desborow* made one of the *Generals* at Sea, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, Sir *Ch. Woolsley*, Major General *Skippon*, *Strickland*, *Sydenham*, *Philip Jones*, *Rous* the late Speaker, Colonel *Lawrence*, and *Rich. Major*.

The firſt thing this *Protector* did, was that he clapt up a ſudden and diſhonourable Peace with the *Dutch*, who were brought ſo low, that it was thought,

thought, they could never have been able to have ſet out another Fleet, though they had made *Opdam* Admiral in the place of *Van Trump*: and therefore they ſend over *Newport*, *Youngſtal*, *Bevering*, and *Vander Perre*, Ambaſſadors to his Highneſs, with whom he made peace, they owning the Right that the *Engliſh* had of the Sovereignty of theſe Seas, and acknowledging it by ſtriking their Flag, the reſtitution of the *Engliſh* Ships taken by the *Danes*, and ſome compenſation for the charges of the War. Thus he proſpers, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *France* courting him by their Ambaſſadors. His Son *Henry* he ſends into *Ireland* with *Fleetwood* Lieutenant, and ſome time after made him *Lieutenant* of that Kingdom, where he lived in great ſplendor. Lieutenant General *Monk* he ſends into *Scotland*, to preſerve that Nation in obedience. *Whitlock* he ſends Ambaſſador to *Sweden*, who concluded a League with that Queen. Then *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Nudigate* and *Windham*, were made Serjeants. A private Article alſo in the *Dutch* Peace was, that the Prince of *Orange* ſhould never be reſtored to his Dignities, Offices and Charge, his Anceſtors had enjoy'd.

On the eighth of *February* being *Aſhwedneſday*, of all dayes of the year, the *Protector* is feaſted in great ſtate by the Lord Mayor, at *Grocers Hall*, the Streets being railed from *Temple Bar* thither, the Liveries, and Gownmen, and ſeveral Companies, ſtanding waiting on him. Alderman *Viner* being Lord Mayor, who bore the Sword bareheaded before him. At his return about Saint *Clements Church*, a Brickbat was flung at him, which light upon his Coach, but did no hurt, except affrighting him. Search was made after him who did it, but he could not be found.

And now, as uſually Tyrants doe, he began to entertain fears and jealouſies of all perſons, eſpecially the Royal Party, and therefore to affright them,

them, and ſecure himſelf, he will cement his Throne with their blood: And by cunning trepanning Agents, he had formed a Plot againſt his Life, and ſeveral perſons were laid hold on, and accuſed for a deſign of murthering him. This was one of the *Machivilean* Policies of him, and his Secretary *Thurlo*, by whoſe means he drew in ſeveral Gentlemen, as if they were to have aſſaſſinated him, though no ſuch thing was really intended, they diſavowing it at their deaths. One of which was Colonel *John Gerard*, brother to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* who was alſo impriſoned in the Tower about it, and his Brother Mr. *Charles Gerard* a very young man, one Mr. *Vowel* a Schoolmaſter, and one *Fox*. Theſe men being taken and examined about it, much adoe was made, and ſome were ſuborned to ſwear againſt them, but *Cromwell* contrary to the Oath in his Inſtrument, durſt not try them by a legal way, but ſet up the Arbitrary Court of Juſtice, which the *Junto* had been condemned for; of this Court *Liſle* was made preſident, a man fit for the work, for die ſome of them muſt, out of a politick *Terror*. Mr. *Charles Gerard* upon promiſe of life confeſſes the fact, out of fear, and accuſes his Brother, and *Fox* doth the like, who are both pardoned, but Colon. *John Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* were condemned; and a blind man brought in evidence againſt Mr. *Vowel*, being only words caſually in diſcourſe, concerning the coming in of the King, which they had ſo aggravated and perverted, that at the tryal, upon their recital, the blind man utterly denied them to be his, which gave a great trouble to the Court, till at laſt (though the innocency of the Priſoner appeared, and the juggle amongſt them) *Liſle* told them, that the blind man had been tamper'd with, and that though he now denied his evidence, yet his former examinations ſhould ſtand, and ſo according to this moſt excellent Arbitrary Law, againſt the mind of the Witneſs, the Court proceeded to

ſentence,

ſentence, and *Vowel* was condemned and hanged at *Chairing-Croſs*, much pitied and lamented; and a Ladder not being able to be procured, they were forced to mount him on a Joynt-ſtool, and hang him after that faſhion, where he dyed with much innocency and reſolution on the 10*th* of *July* 1654. And on the ſame day Col. *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, preſently after *Emanuel Say* the *Portugal* Ambaſſadors brother, put to death for killing one in a fray in the *New-Exchange*, this Col. *Gerard* being the chief man that oppoſed the ſaid Ambaſſadors brother at that time, with the hazard of his life, yet both came to ſuffer in one day, upon one Scaffold, for different Crimes; For this Colonel ſuffered onely for the Crime of Loyalty, and was ſacrifiſed to *Oliver*'s Fear and Policy. He dyed with great bravery, courage and undauntedneſs.

This was *Cromwell*'s firſt bloudy remarke, and like an Uſurper; who muſt maintain his illegal greatneſs, by illegal Arts. But dominion founded in innocent bloud, cannot long ſtand, before the Avenger for bloud viſits it in his wrathfull Juſtice. About this time he takes care, there ſhall be a faithfull miniſtry, to his intereſt he means, therefore he ſets up a Company of Tryers, the chief of which were *Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Hugh Peters*, *Manton*, and others named as Commiſſioners. Theſe make a Reformation among the Miniſtry, for humane Learning was rather a Crime than an help to any, for the queſtion was, *had they Grace in their hearts?* Many good Livings were diſburthened of their Paſtours, and others of more Grace, and leſs Knowledge put in. I heard of one who had been *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Reader, in *Oxford*, and knowing in all the *Eaſtern* Tongues, put out of a good living for inſufficiency: He had it ſeems not Grace equal to his Learning, or his Living had more Grace than he. But ſuch as agreed with *Nol*'s Principles, and were ready to maintain his Government, to be *jure divino*, were put into the beſt

beſt Livings throughout *England*, and the favourers of the Church of *England*, though they had conformed, every where thruſt forth.

In *Ireland* all was ſubdued, and he ſent *Cook* over as a Judg, who with a kind of Itinerant Court of Juſtice, hung up many of the *Iriſh* Rebels at *Dublin*, *Waterford*, *Kilkenny* and in *Ulſter*, and thoſe that eſcaped of the *Iriſh* were confined to the Province of *Conaught*, and the reſt baniſhed. But in *Scotland* at the mediation of *Argile*, whom he had tyed to his Intereſt, and by whoſe power he held a great part of the *Highlands* in ſubjection, the *Presbyterians* were allowed their Religion, and had their own *Kirk* Government, and the power of Excommunication, but the rigor of it was taken off, for ſuch as were excommunicated, were not onely forbid the Communion, but they had all their Eſtates confiſcated to the Church, which was not allowed them, nor the meeting of their general Aſſembly.

Cromwell was jealous of *Lambert*, and of the Love he had among the *Sectaries* of the Army; ſo that as yet he was forced to careſs him, and to delude him with vain hopes of ſucceeding him in the *Protectorate*, and therefore made him Commander in chief, of the Army, next himſelf, with the allowance of 10 *l.* a day. Abroad he confederates with moſt of the Potentates, and upon his making a Peace with *France*, the King is obliged to leave that Court, where he had been neer two years, and had done many good offices for that King, with his neighbour Princes; but Intereſt ſways more than Gratitude. He retires into *Germany*, where all his deſigns, and private Councils in his Cabinet, were betray'd to *Cromwell* by one *Manning*, who was Clerk to his Secretary, bribed by the Uſurper, who had a knack that way, of expending vaſt ſumms for intelligence, and by this means, many of the *Royaliſts* deſigns in *England* came to be diſcovered, and many brought into trouble about it, but at laſt the Traytour was detected, and ſhot to death for his perfidi-

ouſneſs.

ouſneſs. About this time he ſends over 6 Counſellors for *Ireland*, *Steel* who was made Lord Chancellour there, and *Pepys* Lord *Chief Juſtice* there, *Miles Corbet*, *Robert Hamond*, *Matthew Tomlinſon* and *Robert Goodwin*. About *June* this year, *Cromwell* ſeeing he was able to rule 3 Kingdoms, believed he was as well able to govern 6 Horſes, ſent him by the Count of *Oldenburg*, and in a frollick being in *Hide Park*, leaving his Engine *Thurlo* alone in the Coach, he gets into the Box, and would needs play the Coach-man, but the Horſes feeling the laſh, and not ſo well yoaked as his *Engliſh* Slaves, ran away with Coach, Coachman, and *Thurlo*, and at laſt diſmounted him from his Box (an ill omen of his fall) and had like to have broke his Neck.

And now according to the *Inſtrument*, on the 3*d* of *September*, the *Parliament* was to meet, and great care was taken by *Oliver*, that none of the *Cavaliers* ſhould be choſen: Writs were iſſued out in his name, and Elections made as heretofore, onely the Burrows ſent but one Burgeſs, and there were 6 or 7 Knights for ſome Shires, all of them under ſure qualifications: *Scotland* and *Ireland* alſo, according to the *Inſtrument*, ſent their number, moſt being *Engliſh* Commanders. The day came, they meet, and in *Weſtminſter* Abby *Marſhall* gave them a Sermon: The next day, the *Protector* went to them in great ſtate in his Coach, attended by *Cleypool*, Maſter of his Horſe, *Strickland*, Captain of his Guards, bareheaded on both ſides, and at his entrance, *Lambert* carried the Sword, and *Whitlock* the Purſe, and in the painted Chamber he made to them a Speech after his old method, with God in his mouth. He told them *this was an healing day, for before there was neither Nobleman, Gentleman, nor Yeoman known by any diſtinction, nor was there any bore rule or authority, but the Magiſtracy, and Chriſt's Ordinances were had in contempt; that the fifth Monarchy was highly cry'd up, by ſuch perſons as had a mind to aſſume the government to themſelves.* Then in an extol-

extolling way, he ſhewed what great things he had done during his Government, *and then he told them they were upon the edge of* Canaan, *and that he ſpoke not as their Lord, but Fellow-ſervant*; And ſo diſmiſt them to chooſe their Speaker, which they did, without preſenting to him his name. Their Speaker was *Lenthal*, the Speaker to the old Long Parliament. This *Parliament* began to be very brisk upon the Government, and fell upon the *Inſtrument*, on which they made ſo bad muſick, queſtioning *Oliver*'s power, that he could not indure it, and immediately ſent them a *Recognition*, for every Member to take, before they ſat, whereby they were not to meddle with the Government, as it was ſettled in a ſingle perſon, and the Parliament, nor with the militia, nor with perpetuating *Parliaments*, nor taking away Liberty of Conſcience. He told them alſo, that a Free Parliament was but a term of Reciprocation, for that power which made him *Protector*, made them a *Parliament*, and therefore he was ſorry, they went about to deſtroy the Settlement, and was forced to ſend them a *Recognition*, for every Member to ſign and ſeal, to prevent it. This ſtartled moſt of them, eſpecially the *Commonwealths* men, who all flew off, and of 400 ſcarce 200 appeared, though at laſt ſeveral came dropping in, and made up 300, but they fell again upon the ſame diſputes, notwithſtanding the *Recognition*. A little before their ſitting down, *Oliver* publiſhes ſeveral Ordinances of his own, which bearing date before, paſt as Authentick Laws and Ordinances by the *Inſtrument*; one was for the payment of monies into the Treaſury, raiſed for the propagation of the Goſpel in *Wales*. Another for the turning forth of Scandalous Miniſters, that is, ſuch as had uſed the Common Prayer, and had good Livings: Another for making Souldiers free of Corporations; Another for ſurveying the King's Lands, and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters. This was to let the Parliament ſee, that he took the Acts made by himſelf, by power of

of his *Inſtrument*, as good and authentick as theirs. Mark here, whether the moſt arbitrary of our Kings, ever aſſumed ſuch a power, and yet theſe are days of freedom and liberty.

Lambert was very buſie in this Convention, endeavouring tooth and nail to have the *Inſtrument* confirmed by them, for that the *Protectorſhip* being made elective, he himſelf ſtood moſt fair to be the next Candidate, but finding they would not drive, but began to be as unruly, as *Cromwell*'s *German* Horſes, that flung him out of the Coach-box, he threatned them, that he would call 4 or 5 Parliaments one after another, but it ſhould be done, following *Oliver*'s menacing ſteps to the *Junto*. There were ſome Commonwealth Officers in the Army, that had deſigned to have ſeiſed on *Lambert*, but Col. *Pride* betray'd them, who was privy to the buſineſs; and *Cromwell* ſeeing he could doe no good with his Parliament, aſſoon as ever the 5 months were out, diſſolves them; and then he takes from theſe, who had conſpired againſt *Lambert*, their Commiſſions, and ſeiſes on ſeveral others Commonwealths men, and Royaliſts, among whom was Major *Wildman*, who was drawing up a Declaration, to ſhew the lawfulneſs of taking up Arms againſt *Cromwell:* and of the *Royaliſts* there were Sir *John Packington*, Sir *John Littleton* and others, which he impriſoned for a new Conſpiracy (as he ſaid) againſt his Life: and Sir *Tho. Harris* was taken having a deſign of ſurpriſing of *Shrewsbury*. *Penruddock* and *Grove* at *Salisbury*, and in ſeveral other places, as at *Hexam Moor*, in *Northumberland*, and in *Yorkshire*, where Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, all their deſigns being beforehand betray'd to *Oliver*: and many Priſons in the Weſt were filled with the common ſort of people, from which, and from the Tower, and other places, many of them were ſent away to Foreign Plantations, and ſold for Slaves, and many forceably carried away in *Pen*'s Expedition, to be knockt on the head by the *Moors*. Thus he endeavoured to ſecure himſelf, by a bloudy

bloudy and arbitrary way of proceeding, as all Tyrants are forced to doe.

Having thus ſuppreſt this Inſurrection, which he knew of beforehand, and was prepared for, ſeveral of the chief that were taken, were brought to their trials, the chief of which were Mr. *Penruddock*, who was a Captain, and Mr. *Grove* another Captain, 16 more were executed, of which 9 at *Exceſter*.

Both *Penruddock* and *Grove* when taken, ſurrendred themſelves to *Unton Crook*, upon promiſe of having their lives, but what ſignifies ſuch Promiſes with ſuch Perſons, who never kept their Faith; theſe were brave and active Loyaliſts, and therefore muſt not eſcape out of the bloudy Paws of the Uſurper. They were both condemned at the Aſſizes at *Exceſter*, being indicted for Treaſon againſt the Uſurper, and endeavouring the bringing in (of their lawfull King) *Charles Steuart*, and on the 16*th* of *May* 1655 were both beheaded in that City. Mr. *Penruddock* at his execution ſpoke very boldly, and with much zeal againſt the iniquities of the Times; and told them among other things, that Treaſon was in that Age become an *Individuum Vagum*, like the wind in the Goſpel, that bloweth where it liſteth. And Treaſon was then what the Ruler pleaſed to make ſo, and lighted upon whom he would have it: And by this (ſaid he) you may ſee, what a condition you are in, when you have no Law to protect you, no Rule to walk by; with many other bold Truths, which made them ſuppreſs his Speech and forbid it to be publiſhed, that they might conceil as much as they could, their illegal and arbitrary Proceedings: For indeed one of the *Jury*, that found him guilty, being demanded afterwards, for what reaſon they brought in their Verdict guilty, againſt Mr. *Penruddock* and *Grove*, Anſwered; *That they had reſolved to hang them, before they ſaw them.* A pious Reſolution. His Judges were *Liſle*, *Glin*, *Roles* and *Nichols* who denyed to give him their advice in point of Law, becauſe they ſaid they were Parties; and

and if ſo (as indeed they were) it was contrary to all Law, for a Judge being a party to ſit upon the Bench. But theſe were lawleſs Times. Some others ſuffered at *Chard* in *Somerſetſhire*, one beheaded at *Salisbury*, and 3 hang'd, and thus this Inſurrection was quaſh'd. But not long after, he crowded the Tower with many Perſons of note Priſoners, upon ſuſpicion of having an hand in this Plot, or Treaſon as he called it, and among the reſt were the Earl of *Lindſey*, The Lords *Willowby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas*, *Petres*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Jeoffery Palmer*, Sir *Rich. Wingfield* and others, too long to relate; but theſe were never brought to any tryal, but it was thought convenient to ſecure them, though nothing appeared againſt them.

Cromwell now the *Dominus fac totum*, beholding himſelf mounted in the Throne of the Monarchy, makes Leagues, and War and Peace abroad as he pleaſed, and as we have ſaid, having made an impolitick Peace with *France*, loſing thereby the ballance he had in his hand, and giving too much to that Growing Monarch, he deſigns a very unjuſt War, without any provocation, againſt *Spain*, having a thirſt after that King's Gold and Treaſure at *St. Domingo*, in the Weſt *Indies:* But this deſign was kept very ſecret, and a great Fleet was equipped, to the wonder of his neighbours; yet that he might not loſe his wonted exerciſe of Hypocriſie, he gives out, that it is for the propagation of the *Proteſtant* Religion; though beſides the inſatiate hunger of Gold, he might have ſome politick Reaſons to move him to this diſhoneſt breach, which might be, by this means, a getting rid of a great many of the troubleſome Sectaries in the Army, whom he found ſtill pecking againſt his power, and endeavouring to alienate the minds of the Soldiers from him: But now he ſhewed his Art in draining them for this expedition, whereby he might ſit the quieter at home. *Venables* was made Commander in chief

chief of the Land-forces, and *Pen* of the Sea, being made General, and on the 27*th* of *December* ſet ſail from *Portſmouth*, with about 10000 Men, on the 28*th* of *January* following they put into *Barbadoes*, and on the 30*th* of *March* ſailed for *Hiſpaniola*, where they Landed their Men without oppoſition; but whether it were the imprudence and ill management of the Generals, or that God reſolved to blaſt ſo diſhoneſt an attempt, I ſhall not determine; but *Engliſhmen* never received ſuch a foil, and by ſo few enemies, ſince they wore the name; for having loſt near a thouſand Men, by an handful of *Spaniards*, *Negro's* and *Molatto's*, they were fain to retreat, and loſing all hopes of getting the *Spaniſh* Gold, moſt ſhamefully return to their Ships; and, that they might be ſaid to doe ſomething, they ſet upon *Jamaica*, and take it, and which we have kept ever ſince. *Venables* after his return was frowned upon by *Oliver*, and for a while ſent to the Tower, but afterwards was releaſed. The Hopes of this Gold had made *Oliver* King it very much, being ſerved with much State and Ceremony. He had his Halberdeers in garded grey Coats, over whom *Strickland* was Captain: His Lord Chamberlain, who was Sir *Gilbert Pickering*. Two Maſters of Requeſts, Mr. *Bacon* and Mr. *Sadler*, and the Maſter of his Horſe, his Son *Cleypool*, and all other Officers of Honour both to his own Perſon and his Wives, who very finically acted the Princeſs, *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court* he had ſaved from ſale, for his own convenience.

The baffle at St. *Domingo*, and the loſs of his hopes of his Gold, made him now project ſome other ways to fill his Cofers, to maintain his Greatneſs: his merry devil left him, and he began daily to grow more auſtere and tyrannical, being full of fears and jealouſies, as he had reaſon; for he had not only the Royal party againſt him, whom he kept under with much cruelty, but the Commonwealths-men of his own party, and the Fifth-Monarchy-men, countenanced by *Hariſon*, were highly diſpleaſed with him, and began to Conſpire

ſpire againſt him. He therefore lays *Hariſon* and *Rich* aſide, and not long after he Committed them, with *Carew* and *Courtney* into ſeveral remote Caſtles: *Overton* was ſeized in *Scotland*, with *Bramſtone*, *Holmes* and other Officers who were caſhiered, fined, and good ſecurity taken for their good behaviour: *Overton* was ſent to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Col. *Morgan*. *Okey*'s Regiment alſo was taken from him, and given to another. *Joyce* had the confidence to upbraid his Highneſs to his face, but eſcaped unpuniſhed, *Cromwell* ſaying he was a Mad-man. About this time he began to intereſt himſelf for the *Proteſtants* abroad, and to be their *Protector*. The *Proteſtant* Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, having been cruelly treated by that Prince for their Religion, *Cromwell* ſends to make application in their behalf; but his Meſſengers being ſlighted, he cauſed Contributions for their relief to be made throughout *England*, and *Viner* and *Pack* were made Treaſurers for the Money; by which means a conſiderable ſumm was Collected, but what ſhare they had of it, is not known. The *Spaniſh* War now Commenced apace, *Cromwell* reſolving not to hearken to Peace, nor to the reſtitution of three Ships he had taken of the King of *Spain*'s before he had declared War, pretending them *Hambourgers*, and Confiſcating them, being laden with pieces of Eight, to the ſum of Four hundred thouſand pounds Sterling, which was minted in the Tower, though the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador *Alonſo de Cardenas* proteſted againſt it, and did all he could to hinder the injuſtice, which was returned on our Merchants, by that Kings ſeizing on their effects in *Spain*, and by the loſs of 1500 *Engliſh* Ships, great and ſmall, taken from us in this War, as appeared afterwards, according to the report made in *Richard*'s Parliament.

This ſum of money being ſpent, he had with his *Privadoes* thought of another way of recruit, which like their Uſurpation, was the moſt Barbarous and Arbi-

Arbitrary as ever was heard of. See now what was become of the Liberties of *Engliſh* men, when he following the Example of the *Grand Seignior*, ſet over the Land a company of *Baſhaws*, with the ſame power, under a new title of *Major-Generals*. He had Canton'd *England* and *Wales* into 11 Provinces, joyning the Counties together for the convenience of this *Turkiſh* ſway, over every one of which he appointed a Governour or *Baſhaw*, called by him a *Major-General*. The Names of theſe Tyrannick Princes were, *Kelſy*, *Goff*, *Desborow*, *Fleetwood*, *Skippon*, *Whaly*, *Butler*, *Berry*, *Worſley*, *Lambert* and *Barkſtead*, who was alſo Lieutenant of the Tower. Theſe in their reſpective Principalities, lived like petty Princes or *Baſhawes*, domineering and lording it over both Nobility and Gentry; and according to the Command and Order of their *Grand Seignior Oliver Cromwell*, (which was then eſteemed Law) all the poor *Cavaliers*, that is, all ſuch who had ſerved in the Wars, for King *Charles* the firſt, and alſo all thoſe that had declared themſelves for his Son, King *Charles* the ſecond (our now Sovereign) were by theſe *Baſhaws* to be decimated, that is, the tenth part of their Eſtates were to be taken from them, beſides baniſh'd from *London*, and within 20 miles of the ſame, diſarm'd and prohibited to be Elected into any Parliament. And as for the Clergy, they were turned out of their Livings, and kept from all other way of livelihood, unleſs they would work with their hands, ſo that many were ready to ſtarve, for they were prohibited any Cure, or to be Chaplains to any, or to keep School. The power of theſe Decimators was great and boundleſs, Oppreſſing, Robbing, Spoyling and Decimating whom they pleaſed, according to their own Arbitrary Will; for none durſt ſay, Why do you thus? They kept a Roll of all perſons within their Precincts; and if they ſuſpected any to favour the King, he was called to account by theſe Military-Lords, and Caution taken by them, to keep them from acting againſt the State,

binding

binding them to reveal all Plots that ſhould come to their knowledge, and made them engage the like for their ſervants. They alſo hindred them from their diſports, and prohibited all Horſe-races, Cock-fighting, Bull-baiting, or any thing that ſhould cauſe a Concourſe of People: and thoſe who refuſed, were preſently impriſoned and decimated; ſo that the free people of *England* were become as abſolute Slaves as thoſe living under the *Turkiſh* Government, where none can call any thing his own. By this means the Uſurper eaſily informed himſelf of the value of all the Eſtates in *England*, and of the behaviour and affection of every Perſon of Quality throughout the Kingdom. Such vaſt Powers were given to theſe *Major-Generals*, that there was nothing they might not doe, and indeed did not doe; they uſing it to the full. And for this purpoſe theſe *Major-Generals* had an office in *Fleetſtreet* in *London*, as other Courts had, where their Recognances were enter'd, and all other concerns and dependances belonging to them recorded or regiſter'd. Of ſome they took yearly the 10*th* penny, of others they took a ſum of money for Compoſition, uſually at three years purchaſe, which many were willing to pay, who had money, rather than to be continually troubled with them.

And now the year 1656 Commencing, which by the *Inſtrument* was a Parliamentary-year, in *July Oliver* iſſues out his Writs for his ſecond Parliament, to ſit on the 17*th* of *September* following. But in the mean time Rear-Admiral *Stainer*, with ſix other Ships of the *Engliſh* Fleet, met with the *Spaniſh* Fleet near *Cadiz*, returning from the Weſt-*Indies* with Plate, where he ſunk ſeveral of them, with great treaſure, and took others, which he brought away, with two Millions of pieces of Eight, which amounts to 400000 pounds Sterling. There were ſeveral Noble men and *Dons* of *Spain*, taken Priſoners, whom *Cromwell* treated handſomely, and after a little while generouſly ſent them home without Ranſom.

And now on the 17*th* of *September* 1656, the appointed time for the Meeting of the Parliament, thoſe who were Elected met, and choſe for their Speaker Sir *Thomas Widdrington*. The *Major-Generals* had a great hand in chuſing this Parliament, who by their Arbitrary Power and Authority, cauſed whom they pleaſed to be choſen, and it was thought it was one of *Cromwell*'s policies to Conſtitute them for that end, wanting a Parliament that might give him money: And alſo by their moſt tyrannical ſway they had rendred themſelves ſo odious to the Royaliſts, that they deſired rather any other Government ſhould be than theſe *Baſhaw's*; and it was indeed thought to be one of *Cromwell*'s policies in their Conſtitution, that their tyranny might cauſe his Iron yoke alone to ſit more eaſie about their necks, for he gave them up to the Parliament who aboliſh'd them.

His deſign of making himſelf King, and of wearing the Imperial Crown, and of becoming a legal Monarch, and of tranſmitting it to his poſterity, now plainly was manifeſted, though God did not ſee it good, to let the Iniquity of the Nation run on ſo far, as to diſinherit the right line, having in his Wiſedom reſolved to continue it, to the poſterity of *Charles* the Martyr; for though *Cromwell* knew, he had more Power, and greater Dominion, and was more abſolute than any King of *England*, yet the glorious Title of King, and the wearing of a Crown, was the deſire of his ambitious ſoul, not that it could add more to his Power, but he imagined, that by that means, he ſhould be accounted more legal, for that the Crown takes away all attaint, and that perhaps he might be able to tranſmit it to his poſterity, and make it hereditary in his own line. He knew his tyrannick Uſurpation was againſt all the Laws of the Land, and that he could hold what he had got, no longer than the Army pleaſed to ſtick to him, who, like an headſtrong beaſt, was grown ſo skittiſh, he had much adoe to maſter it; but by ſetling the Crown on his own head,

head, he thought to reduce every thing to its old channel, the race of the *Stuarts* only changed, for that of *Cromwells*; and for this end he now began all he could, to court the Nobility and Gentry of the Royal Party, after he had ſufficiently humbled and cruſh'd them, and made them poor, all to ſweeten them againſt his aſſuming the Crown, having got, as he hop'd, a Parliament for his purpoſe: for none were admitted into this Parliament, after their Elections, but ſuch as the Council allowed of, and many perſons, that *Oliver* durſt not truſt, were in this Parliament, and that he thought not fit to ſit, till ſome Laws were firſt made, for the ſtrengthning his Authority, and carrying on of his deſign. There was therefore a *Recognition* of his Highneſs Government by a ſingle perſon, placed ready with a Guard of Red-coats, to be ſigned before any of the Members went into the Houſe, and ſuch as refuſed to ſign it were diſmiſſed, and not ſuffered to ſit; by which means near 200 at the firſt were excluded, thoſe that ſat taking no notice of this moſt horrid force. And now let thoſe who ſo much ſtand up for Law and Juſtice, and cry out upon Arbitrary Rule tell me if ever a greater could be acted upon the Liberties of the People in denying them their freedoms in the ſitting of their Repreſentatives in Parliament, and if any of the moſt Arbitrary Kings of *England* ever did or durſt attempt the like? But what might not, and what did not this Tyrant and Uſurper doe?

At firſt this Parliament went on very ſmoothly, and to the content of their *Protectorian* Maſter; the firſt thing was, they made a Vote declaring his War with *Spain* to be juſt and honourable, with a reſolution of aſſiſting him in it: Then as a Grand ſtep for him to Mount the Throne, they make an Act for the renouncing the title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole line of King *James*, unto the Crown of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; ſeconded with another, for the ſecuring his Highneſs Perſon, and the continuance of

the Nations peace, which was bound up in it. And this laſt Act was made by reaſon of a Plot then diſcovered againſt his Perſon, by one *Syndercomb*, or rather a Contrivance of his Secretary *Thurlo's*, to further his deſigns. This *Syndercomb* was a Leveller, or Fifth-Monarchy-man, and disbanded by *Monk* in *Scotland*, who being a reſolute fellow, and diſguſted, was drawn in by two of *Thurlo*'s Creatures, one *Cecil* and *Toop* of *Cromwell*'s Life-guard, who pretending a Male-contentedneſs, eaſily drew him in to a deſign of Murthering the Tyrant, there being about that time, a book printed and publiſhed, with the name of *Allen* to it, a disbanded Leveller, called *Killing no Murther*, which with notable Arguments proved the Lawfulneſs of Killing *Cromwell*, as an Uſurper and Tyrant, which book almoſt ſcared him out of his wits, and made him ever after afraid of every ſtrange face that came near him; and made him betake himſelf to theſe artifices, to affright aſſaſſinates by his ſeverity. *Syndercomb* being thus trepann'd and drawn in, by his Inſtruments, had prepared a Blunderbuſs, and had placed it to ſhoot him in his Coach going to *Hampton-Court*; and if that failed, he was to have fired *White-Hall*, by placing a Basket of combuſtible matter in the Chapel, with a train, all which is diſcovered; *Syndercomb* and his Companions ſeized, the Life-guard men confeſs the Plot, and are pardoned, *Syndercomb* is tryed for it at the upper Bench-bar, (as they then called it) and convicted by the Witneſs of his fellow Conſpirators, he was Condemn'd to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd at *Tyburn*, but before his Execution he was found dead, and poyſoned in the Tower, by himſelf as the *Inqueſt* of the *Coroner* found it, though by others ſuſpected to be a fineneſs of *Thurlo's*; however, as a *felo de ſe* he was drawn at an Horſes tail to *Tower-hill*, and there put into the ground under the Scaffold, and a Stake driven thorow his Body. This occaſioned the Act to be haſtned for his Highneſs preſervation, and a thankſgiving Voted for this great deli-

very,

ery, the Parliament attending him at *White-Hall* in the Banqueting-houſe, where a Congratulatory Oration upon this occaſion was made to him. The next day the time being very convenient, Alderman *Pack* ſtarted a motion, that for the better and more ſure ſettlement of the Nation, the *Protector* might be deſired to aſſume the ſtile and title of King, as the moſt known and moſt agreeable Government to the people of *England*: this was hotly purſued by the Court-party of the Houſe, which after ſeveral hot debates produced, *The Humble Petition and Advice*: of which we ſhall ſpeak anon.

The horrible licentiouſneſs of theſe times, had ripened the birth of ſtrange and monſtrous Opinions and Hereſies, and all places ſwarm'd with theſe kind of creatures, of an hundred different perſwaſions: The *Ranters* grew numerous, and committed their beaſtialities under the notion of Liberty of Conſcience publickly, turning debauchery and all manner of wickedneſs into a Religion; ſome lying with their Wives, or other women openly in the Market-place, ſeveral, both men and women running ſtark naked, without the leaſt rag to hide their ſhame, about the ſtreets, and into Churches, pretending a Command from the ſpirit for theſe Actions. Then the *Socinians* encreaſed, who denied the Divinity of Chriſt, one *Biddle* being infamous for thoſe Opinions: and one *Erbery*, once a Miniſter, for *Ranting*. Then the *Quakers* began to grow numerous, under *George Fox* their head, and ſo troubleſome, that they diſquieted *Oliver* himſelf, who liked not their Antiminiſterial principles. But above the reſt, *James Naylor* was at this time remarkable, who grew to that height of deluſion and phrenſie, as to perſonate our Saviour, and procured a divine worſhip or adoration to be given to him, by ſome women attending him. He had been formerly a Soldier under *Lambert*, who ſtickled much to ſave him from puniſhment, but the Parliament now ſitting, take the matter into their

cogniſance; being ſent up from *Briſtol*, where he was, he appears before them with a compoſed countenance, his hair hanging after the faſhion of thoſe pictures made for our Saviour, and with a forked beard, often anſwering the queſtions put to him with *Thou ſayeſt it.* He was accuſed of Blaſphemy, and for aſſuming to himſelf divine Honours, he having had *Hoſanna's* ſung before him, and ſuch expreſſions uſed to him, as the people of the *Jews* uſed towards our Saviour, when he rode into *Jeruſalem*, a little before his Crucifixion. He uſed ſeveral evaſions, but the Houſe ſentenced him, to be, both at *London* and *Briſtol*, publickly Whipt, through both the Cities, to ſtand in the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored thorow, and to be ſtigmatized in the forehead with the letter B, for a Blaſphemer; and then to remain in *Bridewell* during pleaſure: which ſentence was with great ſeverity inflicted upon him, and which he underwent with a more than ordinary patience and reſolution.

The Parliament having made an Act, for *Preventing of Multiplicity of Buildings, within ten miles of* London, *and that every houſe within that compaſs, built upon a new foundation, ſhould pay a years Rent to the Protector*; they fall upon *the Petition and Advice.* In the mean time, *Cromwell* deſigning the Succeſſion of his Uſurpation for his Son *Richard*, begins to ſhew him to the World; but that he might give *Lambert* no Umbrage of his Intentions, he keeps him for ſome time in the Country in *Hantſhire*, where he had Married the Daughter of one *Major*, with whom he had a plentiful Fortune. Here he grows familiar and kind to the Royaliſts, inſinuating into them by his *debonare* Carriage, and ſerving many of them in ſeveral requeſts to his Father, endeavouring to get their good liking, by his Civilities, and affable Diſpoſition. The firſt publick Honour done him, was in making him Chancellor of *Oxford*, which his Father had reſigned for that purpoſe; then he was Sworn a Privy-Counſellor,

Counſellor, and made a Colonel in the Army, that he might have an Intereſt in all Parties, and not long afterwards was made the firſt Lord of the other Houſe, after the re-meeting of the Parliament, and ſtiled the Noble Lord *Richard. Cromwell*, to prepare his way, had likewiſe his News-writer *Marchiamount Needham*, who tells the people there is no everlaſting principle in Government, which is but a temporary expedient, and that in the hazard of a Common-wealth, the next ſhift might be made uſe of; which was a King, as moſt agreeable and neceſſary. He had likewiſe an ill Poet, *Pagan Fiſher*, who in a *Rodomontado* ſtile, ſung his Atchievements in *Latin* Verſe, together with the Vertues of the pious *Bradſhaw*.

Oliver having prepared things for them, as well as he could, the Parliament proceed hotly upon *the Petition and Advice*, which was their new Model of Government, and with which on the 9th of *April* 1657, the Parliament having deſired a meeting with the Protector, they wait upon him in the Banqueting-houſe at *White-Hall*, where Sir *Thomas Widdrington* in a ſet Speech commended the office of a King, as ſetled here ever ſince Chriſtianity, approved by our Anceſtors, agreeing beſt with our Laws, and temper of the People; a Model of which Government, as moſt proper for the good and ſecurity of the Nation, he there preſented him with. The old Fox returns, That 'tis a weighty Matter, and therefore deſired time to ſeek God in it; for without his Aſſiſtance, the charge would be too great for him to bear. That the *Engliſh* were the beſt people in the world, and therefore all tenderneſs imaginable ſhould be ſhewed to them, and nothing done without due conſideration of their benefit: with much more of the like nature. The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him for his Anſwer; which being delivered after a dubious manner, they reſolve to force it upon him, and adhering to their Petition, frame a Committee of near half their Houſe to attend him, both

to hear and give ſatisfaction to his doubts and ſcruples, in this caſe. The chief of theſe were *Whitlock*, Lord Chief *Juſtice Glyn*, Lord *Broghill*, *Lenthal*, *Liſle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurlo*, Sir *Richard Onſlow* and Sir *Charles Wooſley*.

And now it might be wondred at, that *Cromwell* having this fair opportunity, did not accept of this proffer, ſo much urged; no doubt but he moſt eagerly deſired it, yet was he ſo cautious and fearfull, leſt that, like the Dog in the Fable, he ſhould ſnatch too greedily at the ſhadow of Royalty, and ſhould loſe the boundleſs power or ſubſtance of his Tyranny, or in ſeeking to fortifie his title, loſe his tenure: for he well underſtood the temper of the Army, and that by the means of *Lambert* (who began to ſmell out his deſign, and fearing to loſe the Succeſſion promiſed him) was ready to Mutiny; which if he ſhould loſe, he were undone, knowing all his title was maintained, by the power of their Swords, and that therefore he muſt wear ſuch title, as they pleaſe, or would be contented with; therefore conſidering, that it would not be ſafe for him at this time to accept it, he was forced with reluctancy to put it off to a more convenient ſeaſon. Many meetings and debates however they had about it, and many Arguments held *Pro* and *Con* between them: The Committee alledged that the title of King had been confirmed by Parliaments, for above 1300 years, and that neither the Perſon or Name of King had been diſpleaſing to them. That it was interwoven with the Laws, and was moſt neceſſary to be aſſumed: For that the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to it; as they muſt if he continued the name of *Protector*. That new titles were ever ſuſpected, and that the name of *Protector* had ſtill been unfortunate to the Kingdom, and to themſelves: That it being given him by the Soldiers, it ſmelt too much of Conqueſt: That the *Roman* Empire never thrived ſo well, but was always full of confuſion, under the titles of *Conſuls*,

Dictators

Dictators or *Prince of the Senate*, as it did under the title of *Kings*, untill *Cæſar* came to ſettle the *Empire*: they alſo lay'd before him the reaſons for the changing the Title of Lord to King of *Ireland*, in the time of King *Henry* the 8*th* for the better and more regular Government of the Nation. But their main Argument was drawn from the Statutes of 9 *Edw.* 5. and 3 *H.* 7. by which all perſons were indemnified that took up Arms for the King in being, and would be a great ſecurity to himſelf and the people, to have it thus ſetled upon him by Act of Parliament: But for all this, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, his fears ſurmounted his Ambition, he at laſt gave them a peremptory Refuſal, telling them that it was againſt his Conſcience, and that he could not offend ſo many Godly men and Officers of the Army, who had declared againſt the title and office of King; but he deſired that the Title of *Protector*, and the Government by a ſingle perſon, might be confirmed by conſent of this Parliament.

Upon this his refuſal, which was cryed up as a great Vertue, and ſign of his Humility, the Parliament confirm him in his former title and dignity, and an explanatory part to the *Petition and Advice* was prepared, in reſpect of the Protector's Oath, his Counſels, Members of the Houſe of Commons, and of the other Houſe (as they called it, inſtead of the Houſe of Lords) which were to ſit, and to conſiſt of 60 odd Lords of *Cromwell*'s making. The chief heads of the *Petition and Advice* were, 1. That he ſhould exerciſe the Office of Chief Magiſtrate under the Title of *Protector* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and to govern according to the *Petition and Advice*, and that in his life-time he ſhould appoint his Succeſſor. 2. That a Parliament ſhould be called every three years at fartheſt, and that it ſhould conſiſt of two Houſes. 3. That the Members of Parliament legally choſen, ſhould not be ſecluded the Houſe, but by conſent of the Houſe (notwithſtanding this he did

not re-admit the ſecluded Members of this Houſe which he had caſt out) 4. Shewed certain qualifications for the Members to be choſen. 5. The power of the other Houſe was declared. 6. That no Law ſhould be altered, repealed or made, but by Act of Parliament. 7. That the conſtant yearly Revenue of the Army and Navy be ſetled, and that to be a Million of Pounds Sterling, and 300000 *l.* more for the ſupport of the Government, beſides other Temporary ſupplies, as the Houſe of Commons ſhould ſee neceſſary and fit. 8. That the Protector's Council ſhould not exceed the number of 21, nor to be under 9, and 7 of them to be a *Quorum*. 9. That the chief Officers of State to be choſen or approved by the Parliament. 10. That his Highneſs ſhould incourage a Godly Miniſtry. 11. That the Proteſtant Religion ſhould be profeſſed, and that he ſhould cauſe a Confeſſion of Faith to be made, and that none ſhould be permitted to reproach it, or revile it by words or writings. With ſome other matters of leſs importance.

With this, the aforementioned Acts, with an Act for Aſſeſſment of 60000 *l.* a month, for three months: Another Money Act for 50000 *l.* for *England*, 6000 *l.* for *Scotland*, and 9000 *l.* for *Ireland*, with ſome others concerning Trade, were preſented to *Cromwell* to Sign by the Parliament: To whom, returning them many thanks, he ſaid, That he perceived that among thoſe many Acts they had made, that they had taken great care to provide for the juſt and neceſſary ſupport of the Common-wealth, by thoſe Bills for Levying of Money, and underſtanding that it had been formerly the practice of the chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard to the Publick, therefore he very heartily thank'd them, and acknowledged their kindneſs therein. And after he had ſigned theſe Bills, and the *Petition and Advice*, and Articles therein, He told them, *That he had undertaken one of the greateſt burthens that ever*

ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature, and therefore he asked their help and prayers to God, that he might have the divine Aſſiſtance, for the diſcharging of this great truſt. And that for his part, nothing ſhould have induced him to have taken upon him this unſupportable burthen to fleſh and blood, but that he had ſeen in the Parliament a great care of thoſe things, that might make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the Intereſt of ſuch as feared God: And if that the people were not thankfull to them for their great care, it would fall as a ſin upon their heads. With much more of the ſame nature.

This being done, they prepare for the Solemnity of his Inauguration or Inveſture anew, for though he was before ſolemnly inaugurated into the *Protectorate*, as you have heard, according to the *Inſtrument*, yet it was thought fit that it ſhould be done again, for the greater confirmation of the buſineſs, becauſe the Articles of this *Petition and Advice* were different from the former *Inſtrument:* For now there was to be another Houſe; and whereas before his Council was to name his Succeſſor, he had now power to doe it himſelf, ſo that he was an abſolute Monarch, and might leave the Succeſſion to his Son if he pleaſed. A Committee being appointed for this purpoſe, on the 26*th* of *June* 1657, before a great aſſembly of people, and with much more Ceremony than before, he was inſtalled in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, under a great Canopy of State, in great pomp and much magnificence, too long for me here to relate; the Great Seal being carried by the Lord Commiſſioner *Fiennes*, and the Sword by the Earl of *Warwick*. The City Sword by the Lord Mayor *Tichbourn*, all bare-headed: The *Dutch* and *French* Ambaſſadors being alſo preſent. The Speaker of the Houſe of Commons preſenting him with a Robe of Purple Velvet, a Bible, a Sword and a Sceptre, making a Speech to him in preſenting them: Telling him, that the Purple

Purple Robe was an Emblem of Magiſtracy, and imported Righteouſneſs and Juſtice: The Bible containing the Holy Scriptures, was Chriſt Veiled and Revealed, and contained both Precepts and Examples for good Government: The Sceptre not unlike a Staff, was to ſhew he was to be the Staff of the poor and weak, of ancient uſe; for that the Scripture ſays, *The Sceptre ſhould not depart from Judah*, and that Kings and Princes were called by *Homer* Sceptre-bearers: That the Sword was not only a Military, but a Civil Sword, a Sword rather of defence, than of offence, to defend himſelf and his people: Upon which he would preſume to write this *Motto*, *Ego ſum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum Populum Meum. I am the Lord Protectors, to protect my People.* This being ended, he gave the *Protector* his Oath on the Bible, and Mr. *Manton* made a Prayer, wherein he recommended the *Protector*, the Parliament, the Army and Government to God: which done, the Trumpets ſounded, and the Heraulds proclaimed him *Protector* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, and the Dominions thereunto belonging. After which he returned in great State, the Lord *Sherrard* and the Lord *Roberts* his eldeſt Son carrying his Train. The Pageantry being finiſhed, the Houſe having done like good Boys, have leave to play, for returning to their Houſe, they adjourn themſelves to the 20*th* of *January* following.

Being thus ſetled in his Dignity, he began to live more ſplendidly, and like a King, having a very full Court, and after a Monarchical Manner all his Officers of State. *Steel* was made Chief Baron, and *Lambert* Warden of the Cinque-Ports; but that would not ſatisfie him, for he was not a little diſguſted, that *Cromwell* had power given him to nominate his Succeſſor, and he now plainly perceived his Intentions of ſetling the Succeſſion in his Children, for which he now reſolves, if he can, to ruine him with the Army. But *Cromwell* is vigilant, and had on the

19*th*

19th of *April*, at a certain houſe in *Shoreditch*, taken ſeveral of the Champions of the Fifth-Monarchy men, among whom was one *Venner*, a Preaching Wine-Cooper, *Aſhton*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, and *Gray* their Scribe, theſe were to have riſen, and with them was taken a conſiderable quantity of Arms, and their Standard, with a Lyon-Couchant, *Guiles*, in a Field *Argent*, with this *Motto: Who ſhall rouſe him?* The late Vice-Admiral *Lawſon* and Major *Danvers* were ſecured: As alſo Major *Wildman*, who was taken at *Marlborow* drawing up a Declaration againſt him, and clapt up in order to his Tryal. And hearing of private Subſcriptions to Petitions and Addreſſes to the Parliament, carrying on in the Army againſt Kingſhip, he peremptorily ſent to them to deſiſt upon their peril, and ſo over-aw'd and daſht them, that they durſt not go on with their attempt. There was no body now very conſiderable of their own party, that could give him any diſturbance but *Lambert*; and to ſecure himſelf againſt him, he followed the example *Lambert* had ſet him before, in ſecuring himſelf againſt the *Rump Parliament*, and cauſed all the Army, by his *Privado's*, Regiment after Regiment, to ſubſcribe Addreſſes, Congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readineſs to ſtand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

This year, on the 20th of *April* 1657, that great action of General *Blake* was performed againſt the *Spaniards*, at *Santa Cruze*, in the Iſland of *Tenarif*, where he burnt their whole *Weſt-India* Ships, being 16 in number; notwithſtanding they were barracado'd in the Haven, and defended by a Caſtle well fortified, and 7 Forts, and got forth of their Haven without any loſs; for which conſiderable ſervice the Protector and Parliament ordered him a Jewel of 500 *l.* and gratuities to the other Officers and Soldiers. But this Valiant and Renowned Seaman did not long out-live this his memorable exploit, dying at Sea, as he was entring the ſound of *Plymouth*:

Never

Never any Seaman performed ſo many Actions, redounding to the Glory of the *Engliſh* Nation, as he did; and it was his only misfortune, that he ſerv'd not a lawfull Prince.

And now the 20*th* of *January* being come, at which time the Parliament was to re-aſſemble, they met accordingly, but they now were quite another thing, than what they were before; for according to the Clauſe in *the Petition and Advice*, *That the perſons legally Choſen ſhould not be ſecluded, but by the conſent of the Houſe*; thoſe Members that *Cromwell* had before kept out by force, were now re-admitted, though againſt his mind; who preſently gave him a diſturbance. Then according to their new Model, there was the other Houſe, for as yet they did not dare to call it a Houſe of Lords, which conſiſted of his chiefeſt Favourites of the Army-Officers and others, and many pick'd out of the Houſe of Commons, ſome of them being of the excluded Commonwealths-men, whom he hoped to draw to his party by this obligation, about half a ſcore likewiſe of the old Nobility were nominated, thinking to draw them in, but they refuſed to come. The Houſes being thus altered in their Conſtitution, quickly let *Cromwell* ſee he was deceived in his hopes, for *Hazelrig* and others diſdaining his proffer'd Baronage, took their ſeats in the Commons Houſe, where they thought they ſhould doe more good; and by which means the Commonwealths-men grew ſo high, that the other Houſe was not taken notice of, but fell to queſtioning all their fellows had done, during their Seclusion, and had the Meſſages of the other Houſe in contempt and deriſion. And now the *Humble Petition and Advice* was like to be overthrown. The news of their proceedings ſo inraged the mind of *Oliver*, ſeeing his great Hopes of being King ſo ſuddenly daſht, that contrary to the advice of his Council, he goes to them, and for haſte takes an Hackney-Coach, and entring into the other Houſe, and

and ſtanding under a Canopy of State, he ſends for the Commons to come to him; who being come, with much eagerneſs made them a long Speech; which being remarkable, I ſhall recite ſome few heads:

That the Lord was his witneſs; his deſires of carrying on the affairs of the Nation, were for the ends of Mercy, Truth, Righteouſneſs and Peace, which he deſired might be improved. That there was not a Man or Woman treading upon Engliſh *Ground, could ſay that he ſought the place of* Protector, *but he thought the Nations happy therein. But that he was Petitioned thereunto by them, who had the Legiſlative Power, to take up a burthen too heavy for any creature, therefore did look they ſhould make it good to him. That he could ſay in the preſence of God, before whom they were all but poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, he had rather have kept ſheep, than undertook ſuch a place of Government as that was. That he had told them he would not undertake it, unleſs he might have men that ſhould go between him and the Houſe of Commons, to prevent tumultuary ſpirits; which was granted, and he had named another Houſe, and that it was not Titles or Lords that they valued, but a Chriſtian and* Engliſh *Intereſt, who would be a ballance to them and themſelves, and of their own rank and quality, whilſt they loved* England *and Religion. That he thought he had been doing his duty, and that they would be ſatisfied; but if they were too high and too low, they would not be ſatisfied. That God knew he had taken an Oath upon condition, expreſſed in the Government, and thought he had been upon a ſure foundation, and that the conſequence had been confuſion if he had not done it. That there were no hereditary Lords or Kings ſetled, the power conſiſting in the two Houſes and himſelf, and that God would judge between them and him. God was his witneſs, that there was a ſeeking of a new ſettlement in the Army, that he ſpake not to thoſe Gentlemen, (meaning his Lords) or what they would call them,*

but

but to them the Commons that adviſed him to that place; yet that inſtead of owning him, ſome of them muſt have they did not know what. And that they were running the Nation into confuſion again, by their intention of deviſing a Commonwealth, that ſome of the people might be the Men that might rule all, and that thoſe things were not according to God and according to Truth; pretend what they would, it was a playing a game for the King of Scots, *if he mought call him ſo, and therefore he thought himſelf bound before God to doe what he meant to prevent it. God was his witneſs, he told them what was true, the King of* Scots *had an Army at the water-ſide, ready to be Shipt for* England, *and that he had the knowledge of it from an eye-witneſs. That they had not only been endeavouring to pervert the Army, to draw them to a Commonwealth, but ſome of them, while ſitting, had been liſting of perſons by Commiſſion from* Charles Stuart, *to joyn with any inſurrection that ſhould be made; that if this was the end of their ſitting, and that if theſe were their carriages, concluding, he thought it high time to put an end to their ſitting; and therefore, by the living God, he declared to them, that he did Diſſolve that Parliament.* To which many of the Commons cry'd out, *Amen.* And thus ended this Parliament croſſing and vexing *Oliver* to the heart, for he expected more ſupplies of Money.

Oliver having thus diſmiſt this Parliament, and rid himſelf of that fear, begins to fortifie himſelf againſt the Royaliſts, who had indeed formed a new Plot, for the bringing in their King, but were betray'd by *Willis* and one *Corcar* a Miniſter of *Suſſex*, who had been long employed by *Cromwell* for that purpoſe: The *Royaliſts* were glad the Parliament was diſſolved, for they feared a Commonwealth much more than *Cromwell*; not that he was leſs Tyrannical, or had uſed them more favourably, but for that the other ſort of Government had rendred it ſelf formidable, and was in danger to have been more permanent than

than *Oliver*'s Kingly *Protectorſhip* could, for they believed, as they well might, that King *Oliver* would never be long endured by the people, whoſe eyes muſt needs be opened, and ſee that he was got into the Throne, and exerciſed the ſame power, and far more than the Kings of *England* ever did, and whom they had flung out only to make way for a Tyrant, and that they would never ſuffer a man of their own quality and rank thus to play the King amongſt them, and to be their Lord, without endeavouring to fling him out. Beſides, they found *Lambert* and the Army ſo much diſguſted, that they would rather have ventur'd all than not to have ſeen the downfall of *Cromwell:* ſo that the *Royaliſts* thought all things to be favourable to their deſign: But *Cromwell* having timely notice of all things by his Agents, among them, he takes care to prevent them, and ſending to his right hand *Tichbourn*, Lord Mayor, cauſes him to double the City-Guards, and to make great changes in the Militia, turning out all he ſuſpected, and preſently ſeizes on Sir *William Compton*, the Earl of *Northampton*'s Brother, Mr. *Ruſſel*, the Earl of *Bedford*'s Brother, Sir *William Clayton* and many more: The Marqueſs of *Ormond*, who on the deſign had lain hid for ſome time in *London*, hardly eſcapes his hands. Alſo he ſeizes on Mr. *Mordant*, the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Brother: Mr. *Manley*, Mr. *Baron*, Mr. *Stapely*, Mr. *Manſel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carent*, Mr. *Jackſon*, and one *Mallory*, who was thought to be a decoy to the reſt, being pardoned after Condemnation.

And now, to give more terror to the Royaliſts, *Cromwell* reſolves again to new dye his hands in Blood, by the old Arbitrary and Tyrannical way: Up goes the High Court of Juſtice, and its bloody Preſident *Liſle*, who on the 25*th* of *May* 1658 ſat. *Cromwell* had pickt out two Eminent Men to begin with, one Lay-man Sir *Henry Slingsby*, impriſoned ever ſince the Weſt-Riſing, and one Clergy-man, the Reverend Dr. *Hewet*. Sir *Henry Slingsby* was accuſed

cuſed (though falſly) to have endeavoured to betray *Hull*, whilſt a Priſoner there, and for holding Correſpondence with *Charles Stuart*, for which he was Condemned for a Traytor, and ſentenced to be be-headed, which Death he ſuffer'd on *Tower-hill* on the 8*th* of *June* following, though great application to ſave his life had been made to *Cromwell*, by his Nephew, and *Cromwell*'s Son-in-law, the Lord *Faulconbridge*; but the Tyrant was inexorable, having before-hand with *Thurlo* reſolved on the Death of theſe two men. The next was Dr. *Hewet*, who was accuſed before the ſame Court, for Conſpiring againſt the Government, and holding intelligence with the King. But the Doctor Demurred to the Juriſdiction of the Court, citing divers Law-Caſes, and giving many Reaſons againſt their authority, deſiring them to evince to him the legality of their Court, and he would plead to his charge. But this they would not, nor were able to doe; and whilſt he diſputed with them, they took the advantage of demanding his Plea three times; after which, though he then deſired it, ſeeing they would record him a Mute, they would not admit, for being deſigned for ſlaughter, had they admitted him to plead, he would have eſcaped them, for want of Witneſſes, which it ſeems failed them at that time. The Doctor had an Eloquent Tongue, was of great eſteem and abilities, and Preached long at St. *Gregory's*, where he ſometimes could not forbear to deplore the miſery of the Kingdom, ſo that *Cromwell* had a particular deſire to rid him out of the way, as a moſt dangerous man, and took this occaſion to doe it; upbraiding the Doctor with very bitter and unbecoming language, when he was brought before him to be examined. However, though he was Condemned as a Mute, yet he had the favour to be beheaded, and ſuffer'd the ſame day with Sir *Henry Slingsby*; where he prayed almoſt an hour with great zeal and fervour of ſpirit, having his head ſevered from his body,

body, he dyed with much Chriſtian Magnanimity.

The next that came to his Tryal, was Mr. *Mordant*, who at firſt denied the Juriſdiction of the Court, but was by his friends at laſt perſwaded to plead, and was quitted by one voice only, for very fortunately Col. *Pride* being taken with a fit of the Stone, went off the Bench, to the ſaving his life. Then Mr. *Woodcock* and Sir *Humphrey Bennet*, were tryed and acquitted: *Mallory* confeſt, was condemn'd, but not executed. Then Mr. *Carent* was try'd and acquitted. Mr. *Henry Frier* was condemned by them; but when going to be executed in *Smithfield*, he was reprieved: the like hapned to *John Summer*, who was condemned to dye in *Biſhopsgate-ſtreet*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Gracechurch-ſtreet*, who had their Reprieves brought them: *Baron*, *Manly*, *Manſel*, with one *Seymour* and *Carlton*, all impriſon'd on the ſame account, made their eſcape, but were arraigned, though abſent, and condemned.

But *Edward Aſhton*, *John Bettely* and *Edward Stacy* were alſo tryed before this Court, for the ſame Crime, of raiſing War, and ſeeking the Death of *Cromwell*, where all three were Condemned, with little or no proofs againſt them; Col. *Aſhton* was a known Cavalier, and a Priſoner for Debt in *Newgate*; but being permitted by favour to go abroad, fell into the company of one of *Cromwell*'s Trepanners, who went ſtroling about for prey, who informs the Secretary of dangerous words ſpoken by this *Aſhton*, for which he was tryed and condemned, though he denied them at his Death, and was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd in *Tower-ſtreet*, the Tyrant making all parts of the City his Shambles, of humane fleſh, for the greater terror: this was his bloody policy. Mr. *Bettely* was in like manner betray'd, and falſly accuſed by theſe Ruffians, the Emiſſaries of *Cromwell* and *Thurlo*, condemned upon their Oaths, though he proteſted his Innocency, and was executed in the

the midſt of *Cheapſide*, being hang'd, drawn and quarter'd: After he had been a long time dead, as they thought, on a ſudden he lift up his hands, and pulling off his Cap, looked upon them, ſtaring with his eyes, to all their amazements, till the Executioner diſpatch'd him. Theſe ſuffer'd on the 2*d* of *July* 1658. and two dayes after Mr. *Stacy* was only hang'd: Many more, who were impriſoned and deſigned to death, eſcaped by *Oliver*'s Death, which was not very long after.

He was no ſooner rid of the fear of this Plot, by theſe Executions, but he was again troubled by *Lambert*'s Cabal, who had inveigled both *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, *Cromwell*'s near relations, with their Commonwealth Principles, though *Lambert* intended only the ſetting up of himſelf, in *Cromwell*'s ſtead. But *Cromwell* now dallies no longer with them, but takes away *Lambert*'s Commiſſion, and lays him aſide, and diſpoſes his Regiments to others, whom he could better truſt, and ſends into the Army ſeveral Spies and Eves-droppers, to let him know the temper and behaviour of the Officers, and of their inclinations, whereby he might the better reform them.

This bloody Tyrant, becoming Sanguinary, (as all other Tyrants doe) grows very fearfull and ſuſpicious, and began to dread every ſtrange face that came near him, which he would fix his eyes upon, and intentively view, for fear of an aſſaſſination; for that Book of *Killing no Murther* ſtill ran dreadfully in his mind, and made him to take all the care he could of himſelf, oftentimes ſhifting his Lodgings; to which he paſſed by twenty ſeveral locks, and uſually had four or five ways out of them: He ſeldom went and came the ſame way between *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and always by private and by-ways, and in a great hurry, his Guards before and behind, ſtill on the Gallop, and his Coach (eſpecially the boots) filled with armed men, and began to be of very difficult acceſs to all perſons. Yet this year he had

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ſucceſs in *Flanders*, and *Dunkirk* was ſurrendred into his hands, and *Lockhart* General of the Forces there, and his Kinſman made Governor thereof.

And now the *Exit* of this great Tyrant and Uſurper draws near, being uſhered in with a Prodigy three Months before; for on the 2*d* of *June* a great Whale came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed. His beloved Daughter *Cleypool*, not long before him alſo dyed, with an Ulcer in her Bladder, which cauſed ſuch acute pains, that put her into a Feaver, and in her raving Fits ſhe much call'd upon that bloody Tyrant her Father, for ſhe had been a Suitor for Dr. *Hewet*'s life, knowing his Innocency, but was denied, which gave her a great diſturbance, being ſenſible of her Father's Tyrannick ſway, and Murtherous projects, and of the Peoples hate towards him. Her Death, as they ſay, went near his heart, being about the beginning of *Auguſt*, which, with the troubles he ſaw were about to riſe from the Officers of the Army, fomented by *Fleetwood*, who had Married his Daughter; and *Desborow*, who had Married his Siſter, gave him a fit of ſickneſs, being at *Hampton-Court*, which he thought at firſt would paſs over, being only a *Tertian* feaver, and his private Chaplains faſted and prayed with him; and *Goodwin* openly declared, that *God had heard his prayers, for him, and he was aſſured he ſhould not dye that bout*; but he was a falſe Prophet, for his Feaver continuing with very ill ſymptoms, the Phyſicians not ſo confident as the Prieſts, cauſed him to be removed to *White-Hall*, and he had been there but few dayes, when they ſaw very plainly, that he had but few dayes to live; and this being made known to his Privy-Council, they were all very much ſtartled; he finding himſelf now drawing towards his end, on the 31 of *Auguſt* he cauſed all people to go out of his Chamber, but *Goodwin* and *Thurlo*, to whom he declared, that he nominated his eldeſt Son *Richard Cromwell* to ſucceed him; but theſe thinking it too great

great a thing to be communicated to them alone, adviſed him to have more Witneſſes, leſt they ſhould not be credited in ſo great a concern: He then bid them to ſend for the Council of 9, which were thoſe he privately managed his more ſecret concerns by, and theſe were *Fleetwood*, *Fiennes*, *Desborow*, *Whaly*, *Thurlo*, *Lawrence*, *Berry*, *Cooper* and *Goff*; moſt of this *Junto* being come to him, he declared that it was his will, that his Son *Richard* ſhould ſucceed him as *Protector*: *Fleetwood* bit his lips, having been fool'd into hopes of the *Protectorſhip*, as well as *Lambert*, but little was then ſaid, and on the 3*d* day of *September* 1658, memorable to *Oliver* for two great Victories, *Dunbar* and *Worceſter*, he yielded to the great Victor Death, and march'd off the Stage of this World in peace, after he had trod it in Blood, War, Rapine, Oppreſſion, Cruelty, Uſurpation and Tyranny. Though the report went, the Devil fetch'd him away in the ſtorm, which the night before his Death was ſo violent, that many of the great Trees in St. *James*'s Park were blown up by the Roots, and that he had ſeven years before made a Compact with the Devil, that he might obtain the Dominion of the three Kingdoms, and not be prevailed againſt: but theſe are Stories, and God's Providence unſearchable.

I have already given a character of this Man, and a ſhort account of ſome paſſages of his Life, before he aſcended to his Greatneſs. He was, no doubt, a man of extraordinary parts, and raiſed up by God for ſuch great undertakings, as a ſcourge to this Nation, which was full of evil humours, and had entertained a ſpirit of Rebellion againſt both God, the Church, and the King; and that they might behold their errors by thoſe diſmal effects that followed upon their unnatural Rebellion; and perceiving them, might not in the ſame age, at leaſt, run into the like, nor pull the like fatal conſequences upon their heads,

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as Uſurpation, and Arbitrary Rule and Tyranny either in many, or in one, which God avert, and ſend peace and tranquility in our dayes. But yet the Memory of this Man is adored by many to this day, and he is the Idol of ſome, who will yet ſpeak great things of him, though without reaſon, and putting our decay of trade upon the preſent ill management of affairs, when indeed it is but the conſequence of our Civil Wars, and the great expence of Money, drained away from the *Royaliſts*, the vaſt ſums raiſed on the people by Taxes, Aſſeſſments and Exciſe, which coming into the Soldiers pockets, they ſet it going into motion; which with the vaſt ſums raiſed on the ſale of the Kings, Queens, Princes, Biſhops and Delinquents Lands, made a flood of money for the preſent, and nothing of want then appeared, which was the effect rather of the Tyrant's rapacity, than good management; for when this glut began to fall again into the private ſinks of rich men, who lived by the uſe of money; and others who had any great ſums fallen to their ſhares, fearing the iniquities of the times, and knowing no man could promiſe himſelf to be long maſter of his own, eſpecially money, where the Will of the Tyrant was Law, and whom to diſoblige was fatal, they remitted vaſt ſums for their ſecurity into the bank in *Holland*, making them rich, by trading with our money, whilſt we ſat contented with 3 *l. per cent* for to be ſecure; ſo that our trade fell, and in ſome time after a ſcarcity of money appeared, which ſuch who only look on the preſent time, and conſidered not truly the reaſon, attributed to the ill management of the preſent Governour, or of thoſe who ſat at the Helm. And therefore we may ſay, that the low ebb of Trade in our time had its beginning in *Oliver*'s time. And we may likewiſe conſider, that in his ſhort Uſurpation, which was but four years and nine months, there was ſhewn ſo much Tyranny, Oppreſſion and Injuſtice, as (excepting the time of the Rumps ſitting)

ſitting) was not to be parallell'd in any of the Kings ſince the Conqueſt. Beſides in his latter dayes, when his fears began to render him cruel, he valued neither honeſty or honour, when they ſtood in the way of his Ambition, and therefore to me 'tis a wonder, for what it was they admired this Man; and muſt be cauſed either by partiality or ignorance. As for his Politicks, his Peace with *France*, and his War with *Spain*, was certainly againſt the Intereſt of *England*, in leſſning the latter, and making the former too great for Chriſtendom, and looſing the ballance which *England* ought carefully to keep between thoſe two Monarchs, And then his impolitick Peace with the *Dutch*, on ſo eaſie terms, when brought with great expence of *Engliſh* Blood and Treaſure, to that extremity, that *England* mought have had what terms they would, ſo that the whole world thought him infatuated, in loſing ſo great an opportunity of doing good to this Nation. Then there is nothing more certain, that all the Perſecution that hath ſince hapned in *France*, of that King's Proteſtant Subjects, was the effects of his joyning in a League with *France* at that time; by which means that King humbled *Spain*, and made way for his Conqueſts in *Flanders* ſince atchieved, and inabled him to ſubdue all Factions at home, which were then ariſing, and brought him into a condition, to need none of them, being grown ſince the ſcourge and terrour of Chriſtendom. His ſhamefull defeat at *Hiſpaniola*, with the loſs of 1500 Merchants Ships to the *Spaniard* in that War, as was made appear to *Richard*'s Parliament, and in his ſpending ſuch vaſt ſums of money, and yet leaving a vaſt debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accounts brought into *Richard*'s Aſſembly, may ſtand in ballance againſt his Victories, and ſhew that he was not always ſucceſsfull, and that he had not managed his affairs with that frugality and wiſedom, as ſome have thought he did, when as by his own accounts it appeared,

appeared, notwithſtanding the great incomes he had, and the many Parliamentary ſupplies, he had contracted a debt of no leſs than 1900000 *l.* As for his Tyranny and Oppreſſion, 'tis needleſs to mention it, that may be ſeen throughout this Hiſtory. Yet I cannot but inſtance here, that injuſtice of his to *John Lilburn*, who had been tryed for his Life by the Long Parliament, and acquitted, and by them diſcharged; yet becauſe *Oliver* knew him a dangerous man, and one that might give him a trouble, cauſed him to be tryed a ſecond time; and though then alſo cleared by the Law, yet according to his own Arbitrary Will, againſt Law, and with all injuſtice and cruelty imaginable, kept him cloſe Priſoner ſo long, that he was almoſt conſumed by ſickneſs, that he turned him out only to dye. Again, What greater injuſtice could there be, than that ſhown to Mr. *Cony*, who being a Priſoner at *Cromwell*'s Suit; and being brought to the King's or upper Bench-bar, as they call'd it, by an *Habeas Corpus*, cauſes his Counſel to be violently taken from the Bar, and ſent to the *Tower*, for no other reaſon, than the Pleading his Clients Cauſe; ſuch an Act of violence, as cannot be parallell'd in all the Hiſtory of *England*. Yet this bleſſed man is admired. As for his ingratitude that appeared to Sir *Henry Vain*, who above all perſons in the world was the cauſe of his advancement, and had long eſpouſed his Intereſt, yet he ſtudied to deſtroy him both in his Life and Eſtate, becauſe he would not adhere to his perjury and falſeneſs: And becauſe *Vain* oppoſed him, he impriſon'd him, and would have proceeded farther againſt him. In *Richard*'s Aſſembly, upon the complaint of ſeveral Priſoners, kept cloſe in the *Tower*, many being ſent away moſt inhumanely, and ſold for Slaves beyond Seas; the Lieutenant being ſent for, and demanded by what Authority he had kept thoſe in his cuſtody ſo long Priſoners, he produced a Paper written all with *Oliver*'s own hand; in which

were theſe words: *Sir, I pray you ſeize ſuch and ſuch perſons, and all others, whom you ſhall judge dangerous men, doe it quickly, and you ſhall have a Warrant for it after you have done.* Upon which *Richard*'s Aſſembly Voted this Commitment of the Complainants, to be illegal, unjuſt and Tyrannical as no doubt it was. This was a ſpice of his Juſtice, whereby any man was rendred obnoxious not only to himſelf, but to the malice or ſpleen of his Lieutenant, though he were never ſo innocent: And at this rate, he might take up and impriſon whom he pleaſed, and no man was in ſafety, and that by the chief Governour's Warrant, who by Law can Commit no man by his own Warrant: And this too without any cauſe ſhewn, why or wherefore. And the ſame men Voted, that thoſe baniſh'd or ſent away were unjuſtly, and againſt all Law ſo ſent away, for the Law ſays no *Engliſh* man ought to be baniſhed, by leſs authority than by Act of Parliament: and ordered forthwith the Priſoners to be ſet free, without Fees or Charges; and had they ſat longer, had undoubtedly puniſhed the Lieutenant too. Then after publick faith given, and the party reſtored to Common Privileges, he cauſed that moſt horrid Order of Decimation to be put in execution, on the poor Cavaliers by his *Janizaries*, which was by the enſuing *Parliament* damned as an unjuſt and wicked breach of Faith. This however is the great, the juſt, the brave, victorious, pious and moſt renowned *Oliver*, who, as I have ſaid, is yet by ſome remembred even to a kind of Idolatry; but I ſhall leave him, having long ſince received his deſerved reward, and conclude with the rapture of *Sterry*, who Preaching his Funeral Sermon, had theſe blaſphemous expreſſions of him: *As ſure* (ſays he) *as this is the Bible*, (which he held in his hand) *the bleſſed ſpirit of* Oliver Cromwell *is with Chriſt, at the right hand of the Father; and if he be there, what may not his family expect from him; for if he were ſo uſefull and helpfull,*

and

and ſo much good influenced from him to them, when he was in a Mortal State, how much more influence will they have from him, now in heaven; The Father, Son and Spirit, through him beſtowing Gifts and Graces upon them. I ſhall now proceed to the ſecond Scene of this ſingle Uſurpation and Tyranny, which brought his Son, ſhort-liv'd *Dick*, upon the Stage.

Oliver being thus dead, on the 3*d* of *September*, about three of the Clock in the afternoon, he was opened and embalmed; but he ſtunk ſo filthily, though wrapt in Cearcloths and Lead, with Aromatick Spices, that they were fain to bury him privately; but a Coffin was carried to *Somerſet-houſe*, where after ſome days, with his Effigies made for that purpoſe, he ſeem'd to lye in great ſtate, pomp and magnificence, to which ſight crouds of people daily preſſed. The out-rooms all hung with black, with Scutcheons, hanging on the Walls, but the room where the Effigies lay was hung with black Velvet, and the Ceiling of the ſame, having a large Canopy of the ſame deeply fringed: the Effigies being Robed in Purple Velvet, laced with Gold Lace, and furred with Ermins, with ſtrings and taſſels of Gold: In its right hand a Scepter, in its left a Globe, on his head a Velvet Cap furred with Ermins, and behind his head placed high on a Chair of Tiſſued Gold, was ſet an Imperial Crown: Eight Silver Candleſticks of about five foot high ſtood about his Bed of State, with large white Waxtapers burning, of three foot long, all invironed with Rails and Balliſters covered with Velvet, within which ſtood men in Mourning bare-headed, which was continued for many weeks, and then the Effigies was removed into another room, and veſted as before, ſet up in a ſtanding poſture, with the Crown upon his head; which it ſeems he now obtained, though he could not wear it while alive. Thus they continued this Pageantry to the 23*d* of *November* following, when his Funeral was made, and he carried in great pomp to *Weſtminſter*, with more coſt and ſtate

than ever was beſtow'd on any King of *England*; coſting they ſay 26000 *l.* or more, and at laſt was interred among the Kings and Queens of *England*, where he lay till the 30*th* of *January* 1660, when he had a Reſurrection to another Exaltation at *Tyburn*, where he was a ſecond time *interr'd* under the Gallows, according to his demerits, with his great Counſellors, *Ireton* and *Bradſhaw*.

But we will leave the dead, and relate, in brief, the Tranſactions of the living. *Oliver* being gone, the Privy Council met, and a ſearch was made in the Protector's Cabinet, for a Paper ſafely lay'd up, wherein he had nominated *Fleetwood* for his Succeſſor; but it was not to be found, therefore they ſend to him and *Desborow* to know, if they did acquieſce in the Declaration of the late Protector, which made his Son *Richard Cromwell* Protector. To which *Fleetwood* ſent word that he cordially acquieſced in that Declaration of the late Protector's, concerning his Son's Succeſſion, though any other Paper ſhould be found, in which he had been formerly nominated his Succeſſor. This done, the Council wait upon *Richard*, to Condole with him for his Father's Death, and to Congratulate him as *Protector*. Then *Skippon* and *Strickland* were ſent to the City, to acquaint them with what was done, and the next day they cauſed a Proclamation to be made, ſubſcribed by *Chiverton*, Lord Mayor, the Council of State, and ſeveral Officers of the Army, at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Croſs*, *Fleet-ſtreet*, and ſeveral places in *London*, Proclaiming *Richard Cromwell Protector* of the Commonwealth of *England*, &c. After which the City-Sword by the Lord Mayor, and the Seal by *Fiennes* were reſigned to him, and his Oath was given him by *Fiennes*, one of the Commiſſioners of the Great Seal, in which he Swore to maintain the Proteſtant Religion in its purity, and to govern the three Nations according to the beſt of his power and skill, according to the Laws. After which he diſpatches Meſſengers to *Ireland*, to inform his brother *Harry*, Deputy there, and to General *Monk* in

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Scotland, to inform them, and to know how they ſtood affected to his Advancement. And preſently he receives Addreſſes from moſt of the Counties in *England*, contrived and made at *White-Hall*, and Proteſtations from the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to live and dye with him: Alſo Addreſſes from the *Independant* Churches, as *Goodwins*, *Nyes*, and the reſt of them, many giving Adoration to this riſing falſe light, forgetting the true Sun yet in Eclipſe beyond Sea; and the fawning Poets, *Waller* and *Dryden*, among the reſt praiſed to the Skies, in their Elegies the dead Tyrant: *Richard* was proclaimed both at *Dublin* and at *Edenborough*, and all things ran ſmooth on his ſide. But however General *Monk* liked not the Tyrannical ſway of the Army in *England*, but ſo early began to form the happy project of his Majeſtie's Reſtauration, without which he well perceived theſe Kingdoms would not be in any ſetled poſture, but be ſtill ſubject to any Uſurper or Uſurpers, the Army ſhould ſet up: but this was a great work, and time not yet ripened for it, he kept the ſecret in his own breaſt, and intended to take opportunity by the forelock, complying for the preſent as others did, but in the mean time with great diligence he reformed his Army, and purg'd it from thoſe ill humours, as he knew would ſoon bring it to deſtruction; but this alſo he did wiſely and cautiouſly, and by degrees, for fear of cauſing too early jealouſies of his deſign.

Richard ſeeing the many Addreſſes made to him from the People and Army, and the careſſes and flatteries of great ones, being a man of no great reach, thought all had been real, and now began to form to himſelf an Imagination of ſetling himſelf in his Uſurpation, and to look ſomewhat ſhy on thoſe of the Royal Party he had before careſſed, and done kindneſs for, ſhewing more ſtate and greatneſs than formerly, and growing more reſerved to his familiars. But moneys growing ſcarce, his Council adviſes him forthwith to call a Parliament, and accordingly Summons are iſſued out for this Con-

vention to meet at *Weſtminſter* on the 27*th* of *January*. Elections being made after the uſual manner, tho ſome would have oppoſed it, and by ſending Writs to the ſeveral Boroughs, they thought they ſhould get a Parliament to their minds, but were deceived. *Ireland* and *Scotland* alſo ſent each 30, according to the Model of Government, and for the upper Houſe the chiefeſt Officers of the Army were pitch'd upon, but many of them were of ſuch baſe extraction, that the Commons could hardly be brought to own them. *Richard* began to have ſome jealouſie of the Army, and finding many of his Council too great favourers of them, and of their power, he began to caſt about to have brought in others of his friends to ballance them; but he found ſuch oppoſition, that he could not bring it about. On the other ſide, the Army and Sectarian Officers began to be afraid of the enſuing Parliament, and therefore ſome of them adviſed him to follow his Father's ſteps, who was accuſtomed at ſuch a time to cauſe the chiefeſt Officers of the Army to come up to *London*, and to be aſſiſtant to him on ſuch occaſions. This ſtartled *Richard*, being as much afraid of the Army, as they were of this approaching Convention, yet wanting his Father's courage and reſolution, he ſent for many of the Army to Town from their Commands, where they had the opportunity of Caballing and laying deſigns for his deſtruction. Beſides, *Lambert*, by the favour of *Fleetwood*, was got again into Command, and had a Regiment given him, and was as much in the favour of the Sectaries as ever. *Richard* was as yet General, when *Desborow* and others would have perſwaded him, that the Army being diſcontented, and ready to mutiny, the beſt way for him would be to ſettle it on ſome known Officer amongſt them, and nominated *Fleetwood*: but *Richard* it ſeems was not ſo very a fool as to diveſt himſelf of that Command, but told them, that by his Father's example, he would keep that for a ſecurity both to them and to himſelf, without which he could not protect them, and that the

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Parliament which was ſuddenly to meet, would give them ſatisfaction as to their Grievances, to whom he ſhould remit them.

And now at the time prefixed, the Parliament meet, conſiſting of two Houſes, the other Houſe beginning now to be called the upper Houſe; for the Commons was choſen, Mr. *Chute* a Lawyer, as their Speaker; who ſickning, *Long*, Recorder of *London*, was choſen *pro tempore* in his ſtead; and for the upper Houſe, *Nathaniel Fiennes*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was their Speaker. The firſt fortnight was taken up about the *Recognition*, with which they were awhile intangled, but at laſt they Vote; and it was Reſolved on *Monday* 14*th* of *February*, *That it be part of this Bill to Recognize and declare his Highneſs*, Richard, *Lord Protector*, *and chief Magiſtrate of the Commonwealth of* England, Scotland *and* Ireland, *and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging*. Reſolved, *That before this Bill be Committed, the Houſe do declare ſuch additional Clauſes to be part of this Bill, as may bound the power of the chief Magiſtrate, and fully ſecure the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties and Rights of the People*; *and that neither this, or any other previous Vote, that is, or ſhall be paſſed in order to this Bill, ſhall be of force and binding to the people, till the whole Bill be paſſed.* This done, a Committee of Inſpections is ſetled, to take a view of the Accounts and the Revenue of the Commonwealth: of which Mr. *Scowen* was Chair-man. The Commonwealths-men, who were conſiderable in this Convention, cunningly put in many Debates to gain time; which they did, though the *Protectorian* party were the major, and ſo could effect little; yet they had hopes of the infection of the Army, which they knew by means of their Emiſſaries ſpread much; for at *Wallingford*-houſe, *Fleetwood*, *Desborow* and *Lambert*, with ſeveral others, held their Conſults for the diſpoſſeſſing of *Richard*, and *Fleetwood* was courted to take the Protectorſhip upon him: *Richard* had notice given him of their proceedings, and ſome of his friends

friends adviſed him to cut them off, and profer'd to do it if he would be Reſolute, and ſtick to them; but *Richard* was timerous and fearfull, and had not courage enough to give them ſuch a Commiſſion, and ſo loſt his opportunity of ſetling himſelf.

In the mean time the King had ſent a Commiſſion to *Arthur Anſlow*, now Earl of *Angleſie*, to *John Mordant*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborow*, Sir *John Greenvill*, Sir *Tho. Peyton* and *William Leg*, giving them power as his Commiſſioners, to treat with any of his Subjects of *England* (excepting the Regicides) and to offer them his pardon, if they would now joyn together for his Reſtauration, and alſo to aſſure them of Rewards and Recompence, for any ſervice done for the future towards the bringing in of his ſaid Majeſty, and that whatever thoſe his Commiſſioners ſhould promiſe in his name, he would ratifie and confirm. This was dated at *Bruſſells* 11 *March* 1659. By this means, and by the wary management of theſe Gentlemen, the King's deſigns began to thrive better than formerly, being ſtill betray'd by *Thurlo*'s Agents. So that now there were ſeveral Intereſts at work, and bringing ſeveral deſigns to the Anvil: The King's for his juſt Rights and Reſtauration. *Richard*'s for the ſetling himſelf in his unjuſt Uſurpation. The Commonwealths-men to regain their loſt Dominion and Tyranny; and the *Army* to keep their Rule, and the people in ſlavery, and to ſet up a Governour of their own, and that might be only ruled by their Power. Theſe have all their ſeveral cloſe Cabals, and all ſtrenuouſly buſie one againſt another.

Upon a report made by Secretary *Thurlo*, concerning the State of the War betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the Parliament ſend General *Mountagu*ē with a conſiderable Fleet into the Sound, but ſo ſtraiten'd in Commiſſion, that he did little good. The Military-Council of Officers were very high, and favoured much by the upper Houſe, which much diſtaſted the Commons; and made them Vote, *That during the ſitting of the Parliament, there ſhould be no general Meeting or Council of Officers*

Officers of the Army, without direction, leave and authority of the Protector, and both Houſes of Parliament. Richard upon this, by advice, ſends for the Council of Officers, and diſmiſſes them. And the Commons proceed to a farther Vote: Reſolved, *That no perſon ſhould have or continue Command in any of the Armies in* England, Scotland *or* Ireland, *&c. that ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe, That he will not diſturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament; of any of the Members of either Houſe, or their freedoms in their Debates or Counſels.* This was tranſmitted to the other Houſe, who now began to be jealous of a Combination between *Richard* and the Commons, againſt the power of the Army, and that they ſought to weaken and divide them, ſo that they did not readily aſſent to this Vote. Beſides, they were not a little diſpleaſed at another Vote of the Commons, concerning their Tranſacting with them as another Houſe; which was, *That the acknowledgment of that Houſe for another Houſe of Parliament, ſhould not prejudice the Peerage of the Land, or their Privileges.* And further the Commons Voted, *That they would receive no Meſſage from thoſe of the other Houſe, but by ſome of their own number.* Neither would they treat with this upper Houſe, as an Houſe of Lords, but found out a new word, to tranſact with them, and that upon tryal, and during this preſent Parliament, which they foreſaw would not be long, in continuance. The chief of the Officers of the Army were for the *Protector*, but the more numerous being Sectaries or Phanaticks were for *Fleetwood*, *Desborow* and the *Wallingfordians*; who had made them to believe, that *Richard* had an intent to caſt them out of Commiſſions, and that he would put the Army into the Nobilities and Gentries hands, who would bring in the King, and deſtroy the Liberty of the Goſpel they had ſo long fought for.

Thus all parties being highly jealous one of another, none knew how it would end; but ſince the Power of the Sword, and the Arbitrary and Tyrannick ſway of the Army was greateſt, it might be well expected they would

would prove the ſtrongeſt party for the reſt, having no an *Oliver* to deal with. However the Commons like *Engliſh* men, went on, reſolving for many good Acts mought they have been permitted to ſit to finiſh them One was (as they thought) pleaſing to the Army, tha care might be taken for the payment of their Arrears They began to aſſert their Intereſt in the *Militia*, and had under their Conſideration an Act *for the taking away of the Exciſe and new Impoſt, and concerning Cuſtoms, Tonnage and Poundage after three years.* Likewiſe they Vindicated the Peoples Liberties, by ſetting *Overton* and other Priſoners at liberty, impriſoned by *Oliver*, and declared againſt the illegality of ſending men away to Foreign Plantations, out of the reach of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, whereby an *Engliſh* Subject could not have the benefit of the Law. And a ſtrict Bill was preparing againſt it, with an intent to have puniſh'd that cruel Jaylor *Barkſtead*; alſo they had ordered an Impeachment to be drawn up againſt *Butler*, one of *Cromwell's Baſhaw's*, for his many Inſolencies put upon Magiſtrates, and for his breach of all Laws, and his moſt Tyrannical Actings, equal to any *Turkiſh Baſhaw*. The Committee of Inſpections alſo brought in the State of Accounts, Military and Civil; whereby it appeared, that the yearly incomes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, were *Eighteen hundred ſixty five thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen pounds:* and that the yearly iſſues amounted to *Two millions two hundred and one thouſand five hundred and forty pounds:* ſo that there was a yearly debt contracted upon the Kingdom of 301540 *l.* double the Revenue that ever any King of *England* enjoy'd. Beſides, to maintain the Conqueſt of *Scotland* more than its Revenue was expends 163619 *l.* Theſe people acted fairly and ſquarely, and mought they have ſat, would have done much good; they gave one another no Gratuities, nor Offices, nor granted any Money from the People, which was more than could have been ſaid of any Parliament for a long time before them.

Theſe Actings of theirs, and ſeeing the People began

gan to have them in eſteem, cauſed now the *Protector*, as well as the Army, to grow jealous of them, as well as of one another, ſo that conſtant Guards were kept by *Richard* and the Army, for fear of one another; and though the Houſe expected a Diſſolution, they could not yet tell which way it would come, or which party to fear moſt: In the mean time they give order, for the drawing up an Act of Indemnity to quiet peoples minds. But on the 22*d* of *April*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, and other chief Officers, follow'd by a great part of the Army, repair to *Richard* at *White-Hall*, with a Commiſſion ready drawn, and directed to *Fiennes* for Diſſolving the Parliament, giving him ſeveral Reaſons for their ſo doing, but for ſome time he obſtinately refuſes, and was adviſed by ſome of his Confidents to cauſe his Troops to be drawn up, and to appear in the head of them; but he was fearfull and irreſolute, and the other party violent and inſolent; for his Uncle *Desborow* told him, that unleſs he would conſent, they would doe it without him, and ſo by threats and importunities he ſigned the Commiſſion for Diſſolving this Parliament. This is ſent to *Fiennes*, who twice ſent the Black Rod to the Commons, who ſcorn'd the Meſſage, and would not admit him; but hearing there were Guards of Horſe and Foot drawn up in the *Palace-yard*, and that there was like to be a force put upon them, they adjourned themſelves for three days, and the Speaker was attended by all the Houſe to his Coach, through all the Soldiery. Upon this they cauſe the Proclamation, which they had ready for the Diſſolving the Parliament, to be publiſhed, and declared them Diſſolved: and thus *Richard* dethroned himſelf; and though *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* did not think to go ſo far, as utterly to deject him, not having yet agreed what Government to ſet up; yet after this was done, the more numerous, though inferiour Officers of the Army would not hear of a *Protector* any more, crying that vaſt allowance allotted for him, would go a great way in the maintenance of the Army, but reſolve for the

the preſent that *Fleetwood* ſhould have the chief Command of the Army, and to diſpoſe of all vacant Offices till further order, and till they could conſider of a fit Model of Government. Thus *Richard* fairly is laid aſide, and quietly marches off the Stage, not long after retiring into the Country, having a promiſe from them, that they would take care for the payment of his debts, which by reaſon of his Father's Funeral charge, were very great.

This was a kind of *Interregnum*, all was in confuſion, and no man knew what to doe. The Parliament after three days repair to their Houſe, but they find the doors lock'd, and guarded by Red-coats, and all the Avenues ſtopt with Soldiers, who denied them entrance, telling them *Richard*'s buſineſs was at an end, as well as theirs, by whoſe power they ſat: and thus ended this Parliament, who were not able to ſtruggle with armed Power. *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* had their hands full, and they had, as they ſay, pull'd an old houſe upon their heads; for *Lambert*, tho at firſt he appeared for *Fleetwood* and his party, deſigned nothing leſs than the ſerving of them; and ſince he was not able, but by ſome other Authority to get into the Supreme Command of the Army, which he aimed at for a further advance of himſelf, by his party he cauſed the *Rump* Parliament to be propoſed again, to a great Conſultation of the Officers of the Army meeting at St. *James*'s, where they were ſeeking God for a Government, with Dr. *Owen* and other Independant Miniſters amongſt them, which affected them very much. But this alarum'd *Fleetwood* and his party, who found the Army mutinous and troubleſome, and not to be governed now by their Commands, and the few days they reigned, the Government lying like an heavy burthen upon their ſhoulders, they were forced to comply, and follow the ſtream; and in order thereto, the *Prote-ſtorian* Colonels, as *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, *Falconbridg*, *Bridg*, *Whaly*, *Goff*, *Norton*, *Smith* and others were put out, and Commonwealths-men or Rumpers put in their ſtead. And thus fully ended the Uſurpation and Tyranny of the *Cromwells*.

And

And now we may ſay, we are come to the third Act of Tyranical Uſurpation, and the many-Headed Monſter the *Rump* Parliament ariſes again and ſhews it ſelf, after having been ſo many years defunct. For the ſouldiers, as I have ſaid, not knowing what to do, ſend now for their old drudges to ſit again, whom they had formerly pull'd out by the Ears, with ſo much Infamy and ill language, and after ſeveral private Conferences among the Chief of either ſide, and articles propoſed for the ſecuring the Armie (for the *Rump* would ſit upon any terms) a declaration of the Armie came forth, inviteing this *Rump* to return to the exerciſe of their charge, and truſt: telling them, in many canting terms, of the dangers and deliverances God had brought them through, and perceiving now with Grief, that the good ſpirit among them did dayly decline, ſo as the *good old cauſe* became a reproach: and now calling to mind that the long Parliament, conſiſting of thoſe members who continued ſiting till the 20 th. of *April* 1653. were eminent aſſerters of that cauſe, and had a ſpecial preſence of God with them, and were ſignally bleſſed in their work, they judged it their duty to invite the ſaid Members to the diſcharge of their truſt, for the ſetling and ſecureing the peace of the common wealth, promiſing to be aiding and aſsiſting to them, *&c.*

And now all the Members in Town, the Jailes being ſearch'd for ſome of them, who lay there for debt, get together on the 7 th. of *May* in the Painted chamber at *Weſtminſter*, accompanied with their old Speaker, *Lenthal*, to the number of about 42, who for haſte haveing the Chancery Mace carried before them, ſtole into their houſe before expected; not a little glad to have gotten into their old neſt, after ſo many years exeluſion. The names of theſe famous men were, *Lenthal*, their Speaker, Lord *Monſon*, *Harry Martin*, *Liſle*, *Whitlock*, *Chalenour*, *Wiſe Alderman Atkins*, *Penington*, *Scot*, *Holland*, *Vain*, *Prideaux*, *Sr. James Harrington*, *Ludlow*, *Oldſworth*, *Hazlerig*, *Jones*, *Pureſoy*, *White*, *Harry Nevil*, *Say*, *Bennet*, *Blagrave*, *Brewſter*, *Serjant Wild*, *Goodwin*, *Letchmore*, *Skinner*, *Downs*, *Dove*, *John Lenthal*,

Saloway the Grocer, *Corbet*, *Wallon*, *Millington*, the Church-ſnuffers, *Gold*, *Sydenham*, *Bingham*, *Aire*, *Smith*, one of the 6 clarks, *Ingoldsby* and *Fleetwood*. Theſe *Rumpers* being thus reeſtabliſhed, and addreſſed by ſundry Addreſſers from the Counties, which afterwards ſtood them in as much ſtead, as thoſe which were made before to *Richard Cromwell* did him; They cauſe the Officers of the Armie to reſigne their old Commiſſions, and to receive new ones from them, which they thought no ſmall tye; but *Callerates* met with *Menalcidas*, as afterwards it proved. Some of the old Members who had been ſecluded in 1648. required to be admitted with the reſt, hopeing that their preſence might prevent much miſcheif, tho' they had little or no expectation of doing much good, by reaſon the Armies backing the other party. The names of the ſecluded Members that now ſought for admittance were, Mr. *Anſlow*, Sr. *George Booth*, Mr. *James Herbert*, Mr. *Prynn*, Mr. *Montague*, Sr. *John Eveling*, Mr. *John Herbert*, Mr. *Gawen*, Mr. *Eveling*, Mr. *Clive*, Mr. *Kniqgtley*, Mr. *Hungerford*, Mr. *Harley*, and Mr. *Peck*. But theſe could not be admitted into the houſe, but were ſtopped in the Lobby, onely Mr. *Prynn* and *Hungerford* getting in, and begining to diſpute with them upon the point made them adiourn and looſe a days time: after which attempting the like, they found a Troop of Horſe and two Companies of red-Coats, the *Keepers of the liberties of England*, to keep them out, ſo that they were forced to return, ſeing there was no good to be done with theſe perſons, who began to follow their old ſtepts, of trampling the priviledges of Parliament under foot, the ancient Laws and Conſtitutions of the land, and the Liberties and Rights of the people. For they forthwith ordered, *That ſuch perſons heretofore Members of this Parliament, as have not ſat in this Parliament ſince the year* 1648, *and have not ſubſcribed the Engagement, in the Rol of Engagement of this Houſe, ſhall not ſit in this Houſe till further order of Parliament.* They had the firſt day of their ſitting put forth a Declaration, among many other things, declareing, *They would apply themſelves faithfully to the diſcharge of their truſt, and to the ſetlement of*

the Common Wealth, as might eſtabliſh *the Property and Liberties of the people, without a* ſingle perſon, *Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers, and vigorouſly carry on a Reformation, that there may be a godly and faithfull Magiſtracy and Miniſtry in the Nation, to the praiſe of our Lord* Jeſus Chriſt, *and to the reviveing and makeing glad the Hearts of the upright in the Land.* See the holy Cant, and what good words they uſe, having not forgot their old Trade of cutting the peoples Throats with good words; nor their old way of helping one another: for on the 29th of *May*, they order, *That all ſuch as ſhall be employed in any place of Truſt or Power in the Common-wealth, be able for the diſcharge of ſuch Truſt, and that they be perſons fearing God, and that have given Teſtimony to all the people of God, their faithfulneſs to this Common-wealth, according to the Declaration of the 7th of May.* Here are the Godly now ſetting up themſelves again, in their old Throne of the *Good Old Cauſe*, that had been ſo abominably diſtaſtful to the whole Nation. And forthwith this Godly Party, as they nominated themſelves, begin apace to thruſt one another into all Offices of the State, and for that end they appoint a Council of State, into whoſe hands they put the diſpoſe of all places of moſt Profit and Truſt; yea of the Command of the wealth of the Kingdom: Theſe Godly ones of the Houſe were, the Godly *Sir Arthur Hazlerig*, the pious *Sir Henry Vain*, the Holy Man *Ludlow*, *Jones*, *Sydenham*, *Salaway*, *Fleetwood* and the Chaſte, Mr. *Scot*, with *Walton*, *Nevil*, *Harrington*, *Chaloner*, *Downs*, *Whitlock*, *Morley*, *Sydney*, *Thomſon*, *Dixwel*, *Reynolds*, *Oliver St. Johns*, *Wallop*, and without the Houſe were the like Godly Men, *Bradſhaw*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Fairfax*, *Berry*, *Sir Anthony Aſhly-Cooper*, *Sir Horatio Townſend*, Sir *Robert Honywood*, Sir *Archibald Johnſon* and *Joſiah Berners*.

Theſe, under the Maſk of the *Good Old-Cauſe*, begin to turn afreſh to their old Villanies, and to the enriching themſelves, with the poor remainers of the ſpoyls of the people. On the 12th of *May*, *Lambert*, accompanied with *Desborow*, *Barkſted*, and 12 other Colonels of the Army, preſent a Petition to the Houſe from the Army, containing their deſires concerning the Government. That

the Government might be a free State and Common-Wealth, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers. That there might be a due regulation of the Laws. That an Act of Oblivion might be paſſed. That the Laws and Ordinances made in the ſeveral changes of the Government, and not repealed may be good in Law. That the publick Debts might be paid. That a Liberty of Conſcience be granted to all, excepting Papiſts and Epiſcopiſts. That a godly Miniſtry be incouraged. That Univerſities and Schools of Learning be countenanced, and Reformed. That all Royaliſts be diſcountenanced and not ſuffered to have any place of Truſt. That none may have places of Truſt, but ſuch as are eminent for Godlineſs, Conſtancy, and Faithfulneſs to the good Cauſe and Intereſt of the Nations. That a proviſion be made for Succeſſion of Parliaments. That *Fleetwood* may be the Lieutenant-General of the Army. That the Legiſlative power may be in the Repreſentatives of the People, conſiſting of an Houſe ſucceſſively choſen by the People. That the executive power may be in a Council of State, conſiſting of a certain number of qualified perſons. That the Debts contracted by his late Highneſs and his Father, might be paid; and that a Revenue of 10000 *l. per Annum*, might be ſetled upon the late Protector and his heirs for ever; and 10000 *l. per Annum*, more during his Life, and 8000 *l.* upon his honourable Mother during her Life, *&c.* This was the Armies project of Government, for which they receive the thanks of the Houſe by their Speaker, and are told there are many weighty things contained in it, which they would take into their Conſideration. And upon this, before they would make any ſettlement upon the late Protector, they ſend to him for an Acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion to the Government, which he formally ſent them in hopes of the Settlement, with a Schedule of his Debts. But they refuſe to pay them, and delay making any Settlement either on Him or his Mother, for they were a ſort of Perſons who never lov'd to give away money from themſelves. Yet to pleaſe him, and to remove him further

ther from them, they give him 2000 pounds to diſcharge ſome part of his Debts, and required that he and all his Dependences remove from *Whitehall* in ſix days. *Fleetwood* began to grow diſcontented at this ſlighting his Brother: but to pleaſe him, they Vote him to be the Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for one year; and that he ſhould have power to Sign Commiſſions, and nominate Officers under him, as ſhould be approved by the Parliament. But upon the ſecond Reading of the Bill for this purpoſe, they altered their minds, and ordered all Commiſſions for the Land and Sea-Forces to be Signed by the Speaker, and delivered to the Officers *Gratis*. They alſo Order the Government of *Ireland* to be by Commiſſioners, and *Henry Cromwel* to be removed. 'Tis thought if he had ſtirred at that time, being much beloved by the Officers of his Army there, he might have diſappointed this Parliament of any further proceedings, but being over perſuaded, he quietly left his Authority. *Scotland* was yet a trouble to them, which they knew not how to get into their hands: for General *Monk* kept all things in ſo great Order and quietneſs there, and was ſo prudent in all his Actions, that they could not find fault with him, nor miſtruſt him, but believed him really their Friend.

They now begin to proceed vigorouſly, and cauſe the Protector's Seal to be broken, and confirm their own old one: of which *Terryl*, *Fountain*, and infamous *Bradſhaw* are made Commiſſioners, very buſie they are of preferring one another to places of proffit: and about the beginning of *June*, keeping cloſe to their *Good Old Cauſe* of Gain, they ordered a Bill for publick Sales to be brought in. And now *White-Hall*, *Somerſet-Houſe*, *Hampton-Court*, and all that *Cromwell* had kept for himſelf, are ordered to be ſold for ready money. And beginning with the Deer, they fall to ſelling them, by five or ſix Brace at a time. And that no Stone might be unturn'd, for the getting of money, they project to make all ſuch perſons, who had aſſumed Dignities or Titles of Honor, heretofore conferred on them by the late King, taken away by Act of

the Government might be a free State and Common-Wealth, without a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip, or Houſe of Peers. That there might be a due regulation of the Laws. That an Act of Oblivion might be paſſed. That the Laws and Ordinances made in the ſeveral changes of the Government, and not repealed may be good in Law. That the publick Debts might be paid. That a Liberty of Conſcience be granted to all, excepting Papiſts and Epiſcopiſts. That a godly Miniſtry be incouraged. That Univerſities and Schools of Learning be countenanced, and Reformed. That all Royaliſts be diſcountenanced and not ſuffered to have any place of Truſt. That none may have places of Truſt, but ſuch as are eminent for Godlineſs, Conſtancy, and Faithfulneſs to the good Cauſe and Intereſt of the Nations. That a proviſion be made for Succeſſion of Parliaments. That *Fleetwood* may be the Lieutenant-General of the Army. That the Legiſlative power may be in the Repreſentatives of the People, conſiſting of an Houſe ſucceſſively choſen by the People. That the executive power may be in a Council of State, conſiſting of a certain number of qualified perſons. That the Debts contracted by his late Highneſs and his Father, might be paid; and that a Revenue of 10000 *l. per Annum*, might be ſetled upon the late Protector and his heirs for ever; and 10000 *l. per Annum*, more during his Life, and 8000 *l.* upon his honourable Mother during her Life, *&c.* This was the Armies project of Government, for which they receive the thanks of the Houſe by their Speaker, and are told there are many weighty things contained in it, which they would take into their Conſideration. And upon this, before they would make any ſettlement upon the late Protector, they ſend to him for an Acknowledgment of his ſubmiſſion to the Government, which he formally ſent them in hopes of the Settlement, with a Schedule of his Debts. But they refuſe to pay them, and delay making any Settlement either on Him or his Mother, for they were a ſort of Perſons who never lov'd to give away money from themſelves. Yet to pleaſe him, and to remove him further

ther from them, they give him 2000 pounds to discharge some part of his Debts, and required that he and all his Dependences remove from *Whitehall* in six days. *Fleetwood* began to grow discontented at this slighting his Brother: but to please him, they Vote him to be the Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for one year; and that he should have power to Sign Commissions, and nominate Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament. But upon the second Reading of the Bill for this purpose, they altered their minds, and ordered all Commissions for the Land and Sea-Forces to be Signed by the Speaker, and delivered to the Officers *Gratis*. They also Order the Government of *Ireland* to be by Commissioners, and *Henry Cromwel* to be removed. 'Tis thought if he had stirred at that time, being much beloved by the Officers of his Army there, he might have disappointed this Parliament of any further proceedings, but being over perswaded, he quietly left his Authority. *Scotland* was yet a trouble to them, which they knew not how to get into their hands: for General *Monk* kept all things in so great Order and quietness there, and was so prudent in all his Actions, that they could not find fault with him, nor mistrust him, but believed him really their Friend.

They now begin to proceed vigorously, and cause the Protector's Seal to be broken, and confirm their own old one: of which *Terryl*, *Fountain*, and infamous *Bradshaw* are made Commissioners, very busie they are of preferring one another to places of profit: and about the beginning of *June*, keeping close to their *Good Old Cause* of Gain, they ordered a Bill for publick Sales to be brought in. And now *White-Hall*, *Somerset-House*, *Hampton-Court*, and all that *Cromwell* had kept for himself, are ordered to be sold for ready money. And beginning with the Deer, they fall to selling them, by five or six Brace at a time. And that no Stone might be unturn'd, for the getting of money, they project to make all such persons, who had assumed Dignities or Titles of Honor, heretofore conferred on them by the late King, taken away by Act of

Parliament, to pay the ſumms forfeited by the ſaid Act. Then they offer at an Act for the makeing all honours conferred by *Charles Stewart* voyd and null. Then they fall to their old trade of raiſing monies by Aſſeſſments and continue the Exciſe and Cuſtoms to the 1 ſt. of *October*. And that they may hook in all they can, they authorize the collecting of an Aſſeſſment granted by the Parliament 1656 for 3 years, one year of which was yet behind and uncollected, this was 35000 *l.* a month on *England*, 6000 *l.* on *Scotland*, and 9000 *l.* a month on *Ireland*: thus they owned not the authority of that Parliament, yet they owned their mony Aſſeſſed by them, and put it into their own pockets. They next revive their Committee of plundring Miniſters; and make an order for impreſſing of Seamen which they wanted. Then they make their ſpeaker *Cuſtos Rotulorum* of Oxford *ſhire* and *Berks*. Sir *Hen Mildmay* of *Eſſex*, and ſeveral other places to the cheif of their members; following their old vocation of ſhareing all among themſelves. The Government of *Jerſey* to *Coll. Maſon*; *Cooper*, *Zanker*, *Sadler*, and *Lawrence* have Regiments given them in *Ireland*. All things ſeem to ſubmit to their power, and *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Deſborow*, and the reſt, are forced to receive their Commiſſions from their General Mr *Speaker*, which tho' diſſatisfied, diſſemblingly they ſubmit to.

It was very much admired that the Parliament ſhould imagine, that the Armie would be true to them, or that any Oaths would hold them, when they had ſeen them ſo often break their former Allegiance to themſelves, and to their late Protector: and on the other ſide, it was as much admired, that the Armie would thus truſt this Parliament or *Junto*, they had ſo groſly abuſed: for they could not believe, that the *Junto* would not remember their doings, and ſo provide for their own ſecurity and eſtabliſhment, as to ruine the Armie if they could. But out of all this evil God was now a forming good. For the Government of the Armie under the Speaker the General, they made 7 Commiſſioners, namely Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, Sir *Hen. Vane*, Sir *Arthur Hazlerig*; Colonels

Colonels *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*. Theſe were very active in their authority, placeing and diſplacing many Officers in the Armie, by the Parliaments conſent. All things ſeem ſucceed to very fortunatly to them, and *Lockchart* Governour of *Dunkirk* ſubmits to them, to whom they ſend over *Peirſon*, *Aſhfeild*, and *Packer*, Colonels. To *Ireland* they ſend their Commiſſioners *Steelones*, *Thomljnſon*, and *Goodwin*, and for the command of the Armie Colonel *Ludlow* with the title of *Lieutenant General*. Embaſſadors from the United Provinces come over to congratulate them, and to offer their amity, as alſo from many other places were coming; ſo that they now began to think themſelvs ſure. They had a mind to new model *Monk's* armie in *Scotland* and were provideing to doe it, which *Monk* had timely notice of by his Agents in *London*, which made him write to the Parliament, in which he told them, that he thought himſelf fit to be credited in the qualifications of his own Officers, whom he aſſured them, were honeſt and ſtout men, and for whoſe fidelity he would be ingaged. This letter troubled them, being the firſt rub they had met with, yet they hoped to get over it: for they were now more eagre to have creatures of their own ſtamp in that Armie, and think with good words to pacifie *Monk*, letting him know as to his own Regiment, they would make no alteration. But *Monk* was not ſatisfied with this, but ſent up ſome Officers to ſolicite at *London* in behalf of themſelvs and the reſt. Then the *Junto* made an Order, that ſuch Officers as were in *Ireland* and *Scotland*, becauſe they could not receive their Commiſſions of the Parliament, ſhould receive them from the hand of certain Commiſſioners named for the civil Government of both Kingdoms. But thoſe for *Scotland* were not yet named; and *Monk* ſtill continued his old Officers.

In the mean time, *Somerſet Houſe* was expoſed to ſail, at the yearly value of 233 *l.* the groſs value of materials at 5545. *ſt.* 1 *ſ.* 3 *d.* to he had not under 13 years purchace. And now, that they may ſeem kind to poor

dick who began to fear an Arreſt for the mourning took up for this fathers funeral, they give him a protection from all Arreſts for 6 months, and take into conſideration how that debt might be paid without charge to themſelves.

And now theſe Tyrants who held their fellow ſubjects in ſlavery had ſome inck'ling of a Cavalier-plot, which made them very jealous of every body; ſo that few could meet upon any occaſion but they were diſturbed and ſome of them clapt up, for Conſpirators. In *July* they put out their Act of Indemnity; but none were to have the benefit of this mock Act, but ſuch who being above 16 years of age ſubſcribed an Engagement againſt a ſingle Perſon, Kingſhip and Houſe of Peers. And all *Cavaliers* as would not take it were to be baniſh'd out of *England*; and if afterwards ſeen there to be proceeded againſt as Traytors, and 10 *l.* reward to the diſcoverer of ſuch perſon, or perſons. And now the poor *Royaliſts* were in a worſe condition than ever after all their loſſes, ſequeſtrations, decimations, and plund'rings, they muſt either go againſt their conſciences or leave the land.

The Harveſt was great and the labourers few, and in *Auguſt* the weather being ſultry hot, many of the *Juncto* were retired into the Country; ſo that they could hardly make an Houſe: upon which they make a ſtrict Order that all (rotten) members attend the Houſe, and that none depart without leave of the Houſe. And now they order a Faſt and day of Humiliation, and to ſhew that they were the ſame bloody men they were formerly, they proclame *J. mordant* Eſq. with ſeveral others Traytors, and order the Lady *Howard*, Sr *E. Byron*, and Mr. *Sumner* to be brought to a tryal for treaſonable deſigns. They ſeize upon perſons, horſes, and armes throughout *London*, increaſe and double their Guards, ſtop paſſengers, the Council of State ſitting night and day, and all the Militia in the City, and throughout *England* were ordered to be drawn up for their ſecurity. for they were in a great conſternation about a plot, and began to court the people

people in their canting way, by their preachers, one of which ſaid: *The Lord ſtir up the Hearts of his people, and fill them with unanimity and courage at this evil time, againſt the common Enemie*, Charles Stewart, *and that deſperate Crew of ravenous and unreaſonable men, who, ſhould they get in, to ſatisfie the rable of his followers would enſlave you, and with your goods maintain forraigners, and the pomp and pride of a luxurious Court, and an abſolute Tyranny.*

And it was not without cauſe, that theſe perſons were put into ſuch afear, for there was a general riſeing to have been thorowout *England*, of all parties againſt theſe Rumpers: for the *Presbyterians*, and diſcarded *Protectorians*, began now to ſee their ſlavery, and to tack about, ſeing a neceſſity of joyning with the *Royaliſts*, and ſome of the greateſt amongſt them ſue for the Kings pardon, and obtain it, and hereupon they cement with the *Cavaliers*, and the famous plot, or St. *George Booth's* riſeing was then formed; the King lying privatly at *Calais* ready to have come over on the firſt gering together of any conſiderable body: But the deſign was too Early prevented, by being ſome way diſcovered to *Sect*, and ſome others, and by an intercepted letter of the Lady *Mary Howards*, who was clapt up with others about it; *Maſſy* is taken in *Glouceſter ſhire*, but being carried behind a Trooper, by a party of Horſe in the night, he took his time, and with a ſudden jerk flung the trooper before him, and himſelf into a precipice, whereby he eſcaped; being better acquainted with the ways than they were The *Rumpers* had got ſome knowledg of the deſign, and with their diligence had prevented it in many Counties. Yet Sir *George Booth* roſe in *Cheſheir*, with a conſiderable partie with Sir *Tho. Middleton*, Major General *Randulph*, *Egerton*, and others, they ſurpriſe *Cheſter*, *Liverpool*, *Chirk*, *Caſtle*, and ſome other places, declaring only for a free Parliament. ſo that they had gotten together about 3000 men, but few well armed: preſently the *Rump* proclame them Rebells, and Traytors: and *Lambert* comes againſt them with 3 Regiments of Horſe, as many of Fort, and one of Dragoons, beſides a Train of Artillery. Some of

theſe ſhould have joined Sir *George Booth*, had they ſeen that they had been in a capacity of doing any good, and of proceeding unanimouſly in their deſign; but in ſtead thereof there fel out unſeaſonable conteſts, between the old and the new Cavaliers, and the private animoſities of the Gentry hind'red much: every one that brought but 30 men would be a Captain, or take it very ill, ſo that by their unſeaſonable punctillio's, the publique int'reſt received damage: and beſides, it was no ſmall daunting to them, finding that the deſign of Riſeing was quaſht in all other Counties, nor could they reduce the Caſtle of *Cheſter*, which Colonel *Croxton* held out againſt them. But ſo ſoon as *Lambert* came up with his forces, the raw men, that made up the body of the force of Sir *George Booth* being alſo ill armed, were ſoon defeated at *Northwich*, Auguſt 19, Captain *Edward Morgan* was ſlain upon the place; *Egerton* fled, but was purſued and taken; Sir *Tho Middleton* got over ſea: Sir *George Booth* eſcaped as far as *Newport Pannell*; where he was taken in diſguiſe, and ſoon after committed cloſe priſ'ner to the Tower of *London*, for committing Treaſon in learying war againſt the common Wealth; and Sir *Hen. Vane* and Sir *Arth. Hazlerig* ſent to him to take his examination. *Lambert* retakes all places that they had taken in, and by an order of Parliament diſarmes the Counties; They ſend him 1000 pounds, for a gratuity, which he, having other aims, diſtributes among his ſouldiers. Then they give order for a day of Tanks giving, for their ſucceſs-and preſently prepare a new Oath of Abjuration; not thinking the Engagement ſufficient, to be inforced upon the nation; wherein they are to abjure the whole line of King *James*, and tell the people they will now ſet themſelvs to doe ſomething extraordinary towards the ſetlement of the Government. But Mony, the *Diana* of the *Epheſians*, and the Idol of the filthy *Rumpers*, is that they want; and therefore now impoſe a new tax upon the people of 100000 pounds a month, confirm the Exciſe, fine thoſe that failed to ſupply their new molded Militia with horſes and armes, and under color of a ſanctimonious

care

care of the poor, they make an inſpection into the revenue of all Hoſpitals, prohibiting the Maſters and Governors of them to renew any Leaſes. General *Monk* upon the riſeing of Sir *George Booth*, was in a readyneſs to have marched, but was provented by their being ſo ſuddenly ſuppreſſed; the *Rump* had ſome jealouſie of it, but he had caried his deſign ſo cloſely, and diſcovered it to ſo few, that nothing could be made appear againſt him. He was not a little troubled at theſe diſaſters, and finding the *Junto* buſie in diſplaceing thoſe he moſt truſted at Col. *Daniel*; Governor of St. *Johnſtong*, and many others fearing he ſhould at laſt be outed by them of his command, and hopeleſs of doing good as he intended, he ſends up a letter to the Parliament for a diſmiſſion from his command. This letter was, by his friends in *London* who had intimation thereof, ſuppreſſed, for ſome time, and his friends in the Houſe ſo ordered it, that when it was delivered to the Speaker, the reading of it was deferred for ten days, till a packet came from *Scotland* to contradict it: tho' *Vaine* and others who hand an incling of it, called often to have this letter read, which they ſuſpected. But the Speaker being perſuaded to it by his friends, under the color, that if it were read, and that they ſhould take him at his word, it would cauſe a general defection in the *Scotch* armie, among whom the famous *Monk* was ſo wel beloved, and might ruine their affairs, he being alſo true to their intereſts, tho' diſcontented at the diſplaceing his Officers: This prevailed with the Speaker, wholy to ſuppreſs that Letter, and ſo the buiſneſs paſſed over, the *Junto* being extream buſie about many matters,

In the mean time *Lambert* and his Armie being aflote, upon their late ſucceſs, are provideing other employment for the *Rumpers*. *Quos Deus perdere vult, dementat.* The whole Nation had long wiſh'd for the ruine of both, and now their own diſſentions will make way for it. *Lambert*, whom *Cromwell* had laid aſide for his ambition, had his heart ſtill full of the ſame. He keeps a mock Faſt with his Officers, an infallible token that ſome grand

design was hatching, he had still a mind to the *Protectorship*, and in reference to that he and his complices remonstrate the necessity of the Armies being governed by general Officers, as it was before the Speaker had made himself General; and requested or petitioned that *Fleetwood* (whom *Lambert* doubted not to serve as *Cromwell* had done, *Fairfax*) might be made Lord General, and that himself might be Leiutenant General, and *Desborow* Major General of the Horse, and *Monk* Major General of the Foot, till he might have a good opportunity of laying him a side. This Remonstrance being drawn up into form, and signed, was sent up to *London* to the general Councel of Officers, whether *Lambert* was privatly gon, and by some of them the *Junto* came to hear of it, who were startl'd at it, how ever they dissemble with the Officers, and order, *Ashfeild*, *Cobbet*, and *Duckenfeild* to attend the House, with the petition, which they did: After the reading of which they adjourned till next morning, when, assumeing the debate, they vote. *That to have any more Generall Officers in the Armie than are already setled by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common Wealth, and that* Fleetwood *should acquaint them with this Resolve.* This was ill resented by the Armie, and tho' for the present they seemed to acquiesce, (because their design was not fully ripe) and helped the *Junto*, in a friendly manner, to devour a Thanksgiving dinner, at the Cittys cost and charges, which was then govern'd by *Ireton* and *Tichbourn*, and their gang; yet it was not long before they presented a new Address to the same purpose, on the 5 th. of *October*, by *Desborow* and many Officers attending him. To this the *Rumpers* very gravely answer, checking them for not submitting to their judgment formerly declared in that case: but knowing that the armie Officers would not be so satisfied, and expecting no less than another interruption they passed an Act against raising of monys on the people without their consent in Parliament, declareing all such persons as should assess, levie, collect, gather, or receive, contrary to this Act, to be guilty

guilty of high treaſon, and withall vacateing and diſannulling all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts, made by any pretended authority, ſince *Oliver* turn'd them out of doors in 1653, unleſs allowed and confirmed by them. And now having given ſuch a killing blow to the ſouldiery, and made the breach irreconcileable, they voted that the Commiſſions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelſey*, *Aſhfeild*, *Cobbet*, *Pucker*, *Barrow*, and *Creed* (all *Coloneis* excepting the laſt who was a Major) to be voyd; and conſtitute 7 Commiſſionners to govern the Armie, Viz. Lieutenant General, *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant General *Edmond Ludlow*, General *George Monk*, Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*: Col. *Val. Walton*; Col. *Herbert Morley*, and Col. *Rob. Overton*, any 3 or more of them to of the *Quorum*. They were incouraged to this by a privat meſſage they had received from General *Monk*, (who had conſtant intelligence of all that hap'ned, and of which he wiſely made his advantages) which was, that if the Parliament would be reſolute in aſſerting their own authority againſt the Armie, he would aſſiſt them in it, and if required thereto he would march into *England* in their defence. This made them very briſk, and now beleiving there might be ſome oppoſition made by the Armie, they cauſe *Morly's* and *Moſſel's* Regiments to be drawn up into the Palace yard, for a Guard to the Parliament. It was now high time for *Lambert* to look about him, and not being idle, thought it beſt to play his part while he had power: and therefore he, on the 13 of *October* with the other diſcharged Officers, drew a part of the Armie into Kings ſtreet, and poſſeſs themſelvs of all the avenues to the Houſe, and the Speaker *Lenthal* going thither at his uſual time in his coach, was ſtop'd, and after ſome expoſtulations, was forced to return. And thus their ſitting was prevented. Both parties of the ſouldiers kept their ſtations moſt part of the day, and every minute it was expect'd they would have engaged, whilſt the amazed inhabitants dreaded the iſſue: But *Lambert* having effected what he intended, procured an Order from

from the Council of State, then ſitting at *Whitehall*, for all to draw off to their quarters, which was accordingly done, and ſo this periculous adventure, of a ſecond time unneſting theſe *Rumpers* was finiſhed.

Thus you ſee, ſome more bold touches of Arbitrarineſs, Uſurpation, and Tyranny in this ſecond, though ſhort, Reign of theſe Rumpers, who ſate only from the 7th of *May* to the 13th of *October*: in which time they diſcovered themſelves to be the ſame Covetous and Rapacious Tyrants they were before in all their Actions, and had they time, would have appeared to have been as bloody; for they were preparing to bring the late Delinquents, as they called thoſe ingaged in Sir *George Booths* Riſing, to a Tryal, and they had got Liſts of moſt of the perſons, Nobility, and Gentry throughout *England*, that were engaged in it, whoſe Eſtates were to be confiſcated and ſold, and out of whoſe Eſtates they promiſed to ſatisfie the Soldiers, and to gratifie themſelves, which was always the chief thing aimed at, but being thus interrupted as you have heard, they, in haſte, marched off the Stage.

And now again the Kingdom is without any kind of Civil-Government, for the Uſurpation was divolved on a few Officers, who whilſt they Reigned, Ruled by the boundleſs Arbitrary Power of the Sword; which confuſed Authority, that laſted not long, we may call the fourth *Act* of this our *Tragical* Uſurpation upon the free-born *Engliſhmen*; Yet ſtill under the notion of *Liberty*.

The next day after the turning forth of the *Rumpers*, divers of the Chief Officers of the Army meet at *White-Hall*, where the Soldiers ſoon grow Friends, only Collonel *Morley* was turned out of Commiſſion for ſtanding, ſo ſtifly againſt the *Wallingfordians*: and now for the management of the Government, and the Affairs of the Common-wealth, reduced to an *Anarchy*, they choſe ten perſons, till further Order, which were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Whitlock*, Sir *Henry Vain*, Sir *James Harington*, *Major Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham* and *Archibald Johnſton* a *Scotchman*, known commonly by the Title of the

Laird

Laird Warriſton. The Officers now Lords Parramount, meet the ſame day at *Wallingford-Houſe*, where they give to themſelves what they could not obtain from the *Junčto* by their Addreſſes, a General to their own mind, *Fleetwood*, whom they nominate Commander in Chief, and Order *Lambert* to be next, and *Desborow* Commiſſary General of the Horſe, and that all the other Officers in the Army ſhould be conſtituted by Sir *Henry Vain*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, and took care for the drawing up Articles of War, for the good Government and Diſcipline of the Army. *Barrow* they diſpatch into *Ireland*, with Reaſons for what they had done, and *Cobbet* on the like Errand was ſent to *Scotland*, where he was committed to Cuſtody. For noble General *Monk*, whoſe Study to repare his Countries Breaches, was as great as *Lambert's* to oppreſs it, only waited for a fit opportunity, and judged this to be a moſt convenient time to beſtir himſelf, in ſo honourable a Cauſe, and whom the Officers of the Army in *England* had neglected to put into their Council of State, believing he would, as he had hitherto, ſtill ſubmit to the Change of the Government; and by his ſtopping of the Packets they had not heard as yet, how he had forbid the getting of Subſcriptions in his Army, as they had done in *England* and *Ireland*. Though his Deſign then was the bringing in the King, and the reſtoring the three oppreſſed and enſlaved Nations, from the Arbitrary Rule, of Tyrannical Uſurpers, of the ſcum of the people; and alſo from the power of the Sword and Arbitrary Sway of the Army; yet he was very cloſe in all his Carriage, and few were acquainted with the thoughts of his Heart: but taking this opportunity to oppoſe the ſtrongeſt Power, the Army, he ſeems averſe to their doings, and appears wholly concerned for the *Rump*, or *Parliament* ſo called; and therefore that their Emiſſary might not corrupt or do any hurt among his Soldiers, he ſecures him, and by Letters ſignifies his diſlike of the Armies proceedings in *England*; tells them of their violation of Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Reſolution of endeavouring to reſtore them to

their

their Powers; this arrived to them on the 28th of *October* in the Evening, which put them to much Confusion. *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, and *Lambert* meet about it, and about midnight send for *Clarges*, to expostulate with him about it, who was wary, and could say little to it; however they order him with one Col. *Talbot* to repare presently to *Monk*, that they might prevail with him for a Treaty, to prevent effusion of blood, of which *Clarges* was glad, being desirous to get out of their power fearing a worse treatment.

In the mean time, the Council of Officers meet at *Whitehall*, in order to Setlement as they called it, and of frameing a Government, that should be lasting and against all attempts whatsoever: but having found most of the Gentry of *England*, to be one way or other involved for the King's Int'rest, they were projecting to seize all their Estates, and to divide them among their own Party, and so to put the riches of the nation into the hands of persons irreconcileable to Monarchy; and then to have set up *Harrington's* model of a *Common Wealth*, or ruled themselvs by the sword, or thought of some other way, they knew not what: This advise if followed, had been very fatal, and might have laid such a foundation of slavery, never to have been subverted. But God had otherwise designed: on the 16 of the same month *October*, the *Wallingfordians* choose a Committee of Safety as they termed it, consisting of 23 persons, who were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Whitlock*, lately made keeper of their great Seal, *Steel* Chancellor of *Ireland*; Sir *Hen. Vain*, *Ludlow*, *Sydenham*, *Salaway*, *Strickland*, *Berry*, *Lawrence*, Sir *Jo. Harrington*, the *Laird Warreston*, *Alderman Ireton*, *Tichbourn*, Col. *Hewson*, *Cleark*, *Bennet*, *Lilburn*, *Thomson*, *Cornelius Holland*, and *Henry Brandriff*. These, without any President, in any Age or History, were impowred, by the armie Officers, to call Delinquents to account, and to bring them to Justice, to give Indemnity to all that had acted for the Common Wealth, since the year 1649. to oppose and

nd ſuppreſs all Inſurrections, to treat with forreign tates and Princes. To raiſe the Militia in the ſeveral Counties, to diſpoſe of all places of Truſt, and to make Sales and Compoſitions of all Delinquents Lands, nd to execute all the powers of the late Council of tate; that is, to do what they pleaſe. Surely never ny free Nation was ſo abuſed and impoſed upon by a ompany of falſe pretenders to Sanctity?

The news of General *Monks* actions *in* the North, allarm'd them, at their firſt ſiting, for he had caſheir-ed all thoſe Officers in his Armie; who would not oyn with him, and impriſoned ſome of them; and, had ſeized *Berwick*, and ſeveral others ſtrong Holds, nd was likely to march into *England*, which put them to their wits ends, knowing how highly the people were incenſed againſt them; and about the ſame time, as a preſage of their dying power, *Brad-ſhaw* who had paſſed the trayterous Sentence upon the King, departed this life, the laſt day of this month, to receive ſentence himſelf from the King of Kings. However this Committee with a new name, put forth a Declaration, in with they null and make voyd the pretended Orders, Acts, and Declarations of the late *Junto*, made on the 10th. of that inſtant *October*, and on the *Teuſday* and *Wenſday* following; and likewiſe all Acts, Orders, and Proceedings thereupon, in as full and ample manner, as if they had never been: See now what may not theſe people do, when they can null and make void the Acts of that power themſelvs ado-red, ſet up and ſubmitted to, not long before cal-ling them Saints, Godly, Upright, and Religious men, perſons fearing God, and ſeeking the good of the Na-tion, yet now vacate their Acts, that were diſpleaſing to them, or reſtrained their power. Yet the ſame men declare a liberty to all the freeborn men of the Nation, whom they had thus enſlaved, and with the next breath promiſe to maintain a painfull Goſpel-preaching Mi-niſtry, to be incouraged by ſome other way, leſs trou-bleſome than that of Tithes. Then they declare againſt

againſt a ſingle perſon, Kingſhip, and Houſe of Peers and that the Common Wealth ſhall not be governed in a Military way, but by the Civil Government of the Committee of Safety, who ſhal prepare ſuch a Form of Government as ſhall beſt ſuit with a free State or Common Wealth: then end with a long cant of godly and ſcriptural expreſſions, of their ſincerity and uprightneſs, to *Cajole* the godly Party, and to make them think well of their Saintlike Actions.

This done, in order to Government, in the begining of *November*, the *Safety men* nominate *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Vane*, *Ludlow*, *Desborow*, *Hewſon*, *Holland*, *Salaway*, and *Tichburn* to be a Committee, to prepare a form of Governenmt, in the way of a free State, or Common Wealth; and *Whaley*, *Goff*, *Carill*, and *Barker*, are diſpatched to General *Monk* to ſeduce him to joyn with them, and to do as they intended, to tyrannize over a free born people; and arbitrarily to murder them for the avoiding of effuſion of blood; and the Officers at *London* wrote to his Officers to the ſame purpoſe, remonſtrateing with much zeal how neceſſary brotherly Union was to uphold their Domination. General *Monk*, who had good Intelligence from *England*, ſeeing the Northern forces were in a poſture to reſiſt him, and *Lambert* comeing down to them with more Regiments out of the South, thought it his beſt way to win time by procraſtinations, and therefore deſires a Treaty, which was readily accepted of by thoſe in *England*, and upon this he ſends up, as Commiſſioners, Col. *Wilks*, Leiut. Col. *Clobery*, and Major *Knight*, to tranſact with the like number of Officers at *London*. Theſe had power only to treat, but not to come to full agreement without orders, but they exceeded their Commiſſion. By the way meeting *Lambert* at *York*, they gave him ſo full ſatisfaction in hopes of concluding all things amicably, by this Treaty, that he advanced no farther northwards. The Commiſſioners on both ſides meet at *London*, and *Wilks* not following his directions, went beyond his Commiſſion, and being overforward to end the Treaty, concluded upon certain Articles very diſ-

diſtructive to *Monks* deſigns. They were breifly theſe. 1. That the pretended title of *Charles Stewart*, or any other clameing from that family ſhould be utterly renounced. 2. That the Government of theſe Nations ſhould be a free State or Common Wealth, and not be a ſingle Perſon, King, of Houſe of Lords. 3. That the Miniſtry ſhould be mainteined and encouraged. 4. That the Univerſities ſhould be reformed and countenanced, 5. That the Officers and ſouldiers, and other perſons, on either ſide, ſhould be indemnified for things paſt, and all unkindneſs between them buried in perpetual oblivion. 6. That the Officers which were made pris'ners in *Scotland*, ſhould be forthwith ſet at liberty. 7. That the Armies be preſently diſperſed into quarters, 9. And a Committee of 19, whereof to make the *Quorum*, ſhould meet about qualifications for ſuceeding Parliaments. 9. That the proportion of mony out of the Aſſeſſments of *England*, formerly appointed for the ſupply of the forces in *Scotland*, be duly paid. The ratification of which Articles by *Monk's* Commiſſioners, ſtrangely amazed the City, who had had private aſſurances from the General of other things, and made them not to believe ſome later letters ſent them, to continue their Hopes, but flung them away at fictitions, and cauſed the meſſenger to be impriſoned. *Monk* was alſo as much perplex'd when he had the news of it, and when his Commiſſioners returned impriſoned *Wilks*, for going beyond his Commiſſion, and by advice from his Officers demurred to one clauſe in the 6 Article, which was, That all the Officers diſplaced by General *Monk*, might be in a capacity of being reſtored to their commands, and all thoſe put in by him, in their places, to be removed; by which means he ſhould ruine and diſarm himſelf. And therefore The treaty was not wholy diſaprov'd of, but wiſely *Monk* deſired, that two more might be added to the former Commiſſioners, to meet with the like number of theirs, to put a more abſolute period to their differences; for that there were certain poyn's to be treated on not yet agreed to, and others wanted

wanted explanation. This letter ſubſcribed by *Monk* and many of his Chief Officers, and ſent to *London*, pu *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and the reſt to much confuſion ſeing *Monk* thus refuſe to ratifie the Treaty: and there upon many expoſtulatory Letters paſſed between them which gained time, the thing *Monk* intended: he having ſent letters and meſſengers into *Ireland*, from whom he had favourable returns, which encouraged him to proceed. And this alſo put new life into the City, who now began to revive their Hopes. He alſo had privatly letters from the Lord *Fairfax*, and other perſons of quality in *England*, of their reſolutions of ſtanding by him; tho' upon all this, he ſtill kept himſelf reſerv'd, and very few knew his intentions, which made many of his friends very doubtfull of him: but by this arrifice and cloſeneſs he effected his buſineſs, and got into the opinion of the *Rumpers*, whoſe quarrel only he ſeemed to eſpouſe: And being thus encouraged by his actions, nine of the old Council of State get privatly together, viz: *Scot*, *Morley*, *Reignalds*, *Wollop*, *Nevill*, *Hazlerig*, *Walton*, *Cooper*, and *Berners*, who ſend a letter to *Monk*, aſſuring him, that his ſervice was highly acknowledged by them, in aſſerting their Liberties, and alſo was extreamly well reſented by all the ſober and unintereſted perſons in the nation, that love a Common Wealth; aſſureing him they would adhere to him, and ſtand and fall with him, and that they would aſſiſt him with all their might, for the removeing of the force was put upon them by the *Engliſh* Armie, that they might ſit in freedom; praiſeing his wiſdom and conduct, and the like. This was no ſmall incouragement to the Officers in *Scotland*, for they might rationally conclude, that their party was increaſed in *England*, or elſe that they would not have ſo openly acted. This before-mentioned Council of State, framed a Commiſſion, wherein they conſtituted General *Monk* abſolute Commander in Cheif of the Armies in *England* and *Scotland*, dated 24 of *November* ſealed with their ſeal, and given to *Clarges* to ſend by a ſafe meſſenger to *Monk*.

And

And now General *Monk*, upon *Lamberts* advance into *Northumberland*, ordered a conſiderable part of his forces towards *Berwick*: and then cauſed an Aſſembly of the Nobles and Gentry, to convene at *Edenburg* to whom he made theſe propoſals. That he having a call from God and man, to march into *England* they would therefore, during his abſence, preſerve and ſecure the peace of that Nation. That they would ſupply him with ſome mony for his undertakeing, which he engaged upon his honor ſhould be to their ſatisfaction; and that if any troubles ſhould ariſe, they would aſſiſt him in the ſuppreſſing thereof. That they would advance, and raiſe what mony they could for his entrepriſe before hand. To theſe they returned anſwer by their chair-man, the Earl of *Glencarn*; that they were not in a condition to engage for preſerving the peace of the Country in his abſence; becauſe they wanted Armes: Yet they would endeavour it with all faithfullneſs: That they thought it not prudent to engage themſelves in a war, which if unſucceſsfull would be their ruin, or if proſperous they knew not what advantage ſhould thereby accrew to them. But to ſhew their good opinion of his fair intendment, they were content to levy monies, aud to advance a year's Tax before-hand. Hereupon the General impowred the Lords and Gentry to arme themſelves; and ſome of them he privately ſatisfied with his deſign, and thankfully accepted the year's Tax. But yet to win time, he holds a ſecond Treaty with *Lambert's* Commiſſioners at *Newcaſtle* upon *Tine*; where he ſtill inſiſted with a ſeeming zealouſneſs, upon the readmiſſion of the *Rumpers*: And this produced its wiſned effects. For whilſt *Lambert* trifles away his time unprofitably, *Monk* poſts himſelf at *Cold-ſtream*, a notable paſs upon the *Tweed*, where he kept his head Quarters, and being winter, where *Lambert* could not, without danger, come to diſturb him. And on the other ſide *Hazlerig*, *Morly* and *Walton* get into *Portsmouth*, where they prevail with the Governour Col. *Nathaniel Whetham*, and the Gariſon, with the Town, to declare for the

he *Junto*, againſt the *Safety men* and Armie Officers, and no Contribution could be gotten from the Country; who armed themſelvs with the late Act of the *Rumpers* before their excluſion by *Lambert*; and the Counties every where bodly meet to draw Remonſtrances; but eſpecially the City was ſo highly incenſed, that the Lord Mayor, *Allen*, was hardly able to reſtrain them from flying to armes; which ſo perplexed him that not knowing whom to pleaſe, and fearing bad effects; if he ſhould diſpleaſe either, he went to *Wallingford* Houſe to repreſent the poſtures of affairs to the *Gang*, to try if he could perſuade them to reaſon: But he was affronted all along as he paſt in his coach, in the ſtreets, by the Common people, who called him a deſerter, and told him he was not like Sir *William Walworth* in the time of King *Richard* the ſecond; which was a notable evidence of the inclination of the Generality.

In the mean time, that we may ſee and be aſtoniſhed at the impudence of theſe men, or monſters, called the *Safety men*: they had ordered a Committee (whom we nominated before) as mad as themſelves, to ſit at *White-Hall*, to find out a new Government; whoſe wits being not ſo accute as their ſwords were quickly confounded in the building of thir *Babel*. Sometimes they would have a *Senate*, and another time they were for *Conſervators*, which ſhould be much like the Rumping *Cuſtodes*, to keep the *Liberties* from the people: But at laſt to pleaſe the Nation, this Mounthain brought forth its Mouſe; a Vote viz: That a (convention which they ſtiled a) Parliament qualified according to their humors, and elected by perſons ſo qualified, ſhould be called and appoynted to ſit in, or before *February* next. But in the firſt place 7 fundamental principles are agreed upon, by the *Wallingſfordians*, which muſt needs be as unalterable as the Laws of the *Medes* and *Perſians*. Theſe are, 1 That no Kingſhip ſhall be exerciſed in theſe Nations. 2 That no ſingle Perſon ſhall exerciſe the Office of Cheif Magiſtrate here. 3, That an Armie be continued, maintained, and conducted, ſo as it may ſecure (that is impriſon)

n) the peace of these Nations, and by no means be sbanded, nor the conduct thereof altered, but by the nsent of such *Conservators* as should be appoynted. That no imposition may be upon the consciences of y but the *Cavaliers*, 5, That there be no House of eers. 6, That the legislative and executive power be istinct, and not in the same hands. 7, That the Assemlies of Parliament shall be elected by the people of is Common Wealth duly qualified.

But these Gimcraks would not satisfie at all. But the reaty still being in hand, they were lulled into a secuity, and began, after the old manner of the *Rumpers*, to are among themselvs the Cheifest Offices and places f Trust and proffit; and to his end *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *denham*, *Saloway*, *Holland*, *Clerk*, and *Blakwell*, or any wo of them are appointed Commissioners of the Treasue, and to manage the publique revenue, with power s large as they could wish or desire. But being disturbed with the peoples drawing up of several Petitions, nd getting Subscriptions, issue forth a Proclamation gainst all such petitioning, and call their petitions unue and dangerous papers, and prohibit all persons to ubscribe any such papers, and if offered to suppress hem, and to cause all persons so endeavouring to get ubscriptions to be apprehended, upon account of being nemies and disturbers of the peace. Thus you see, hese very men, who had set examples of this nature so requently by geting Subscriptions to Petitions and Remonstrances, to the Autority then in Being, could not ndure it, now it twarted their humors and intereſt; and what in themselvs they indulg'd and pleaded for, as heir right, they will abhor and will punish in others. Mind therefore the Justice of these men.

But this Prohibition of theirs did but the more enrage he people, and the *Londoners*, especially the Apprentices, were in an uproar, and readye to mutine; whereupon *Hewson* the one ey'd cobler, hath order with his Regiment of oot, and some horse to march into the City: where he killd a Cobler, and one or two more, and wounded several,

veral, ſo that the Citizens ſhut up their ſhops; yet there rather madded than daunted thereat, there were continuall bickerings between them and the ſouldiers; neither could *Desborows*, canting ſpeech at *Guild-Hall* work upon them, but that ſometimes multitudes would flock together and affront the ſouldiers, and tho' they were often diſperſed yet they would gather head again. And now the Common-Council, in which at that time were many ſtout and honeſt men, began to give ear to the Apprentices petitioning for a free Parliament; being thereunto encouraged by an offer of 3000 valiant Seamen to aid them, from Vice Admiral *Lawſon*; who in this juncture was come up the *Thames*, and had ſurprized all the Forts and Blockhouſes in the way: *Vaine* and *Salmon* were ſent to confer with him, but nothing would prevail with him, unleſs the *Wallingfordians* would readmit the *Rumpers* to ſit again.

And beſides all this, *Hazelrig*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, at *Portſmouth*, had ſo wrought upon thoſe Regiments which were ſent againſt them, that they all came over to their ſide. The *Safety men* and Officers at *White-Hall* perceiving themſelvs to be generally hated and ſlighted, and wanting mony to pay their ſouldiers and uphold their intereſt, being withall beſet on every hand with enemies; both City and Country being ready to riſe upon them, found a neceſſity of ſubmiting to the *Rumpers*, for fear, leſt while the two *Currs* ſtrove for the bone of Government, the Royal *Lyon* ſhould come in and deſtroy them both; they finding the pulſe of the whole nation (tyred with the various fits of arbitrary ſway) beating towards the return of the King, and to their old and equal way of Government; and the late reconciliation between *France* and *Spain* (in which his Majeſty was very inſtrumental) ſeeming to preſage ſome danger to them; the Cheif of them then go to the Speaker *Lenthal*, and cry *peccavimus*; where tender-hearted *Fleetwood* meekly weeping, gave a full teſtimony of his ſorrow for his reiterated defection, ſaying: *That the Lord had blaſted their Councells and ſpit in their Faces* ('tis his own rhetoric) and therefore

therefore desires, him and the rest of the members, to return to the exercise of their Trust, for the Government of the Nation. And the same day the souldiery being drawn up in *Lincolns-Inn-feilds* owned the *Junto* again for the supream authority, now they saw thy could keep it no longer themselves. The Speaker went presently to the *Tower* of *London*, the care of which & Government whereof, he committed to Sir *Antony Ashly-Cooper*, Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr, *Berners*, and two dayes after, being the 26 th. of *December*, this never dying *Rump* resumed their old places; and thus ended the Government of the Armie, which lasted only from the 13 th. of *October* to the 26 th. of *December* following.

And now, almost tyred with relateing, tho breifly, the several sorts of *Arbitrary* and tyranical usurpations, we are come to the last Act of our *Tragedy* or *Trage-comedy* since it ends happily, and after the tryall of so many ways of Government, almost to the ruin of the Nation, they return to the *good old way* of *Monarchy*; as the onely just, equal, and legal way of *Government* for these Nations, and for the ease and free- dom of the people But let us pursue our story, and see the last struggle & gasp for life of this *Monster*, or *Dragon*, of a *Common Wealth* ruleing by their *Arbitrary* wills, back'd by the power of the sword, of a standing Armie, who like the *Turks Janizarie* Keept both the people and their Masters in awe; tho' hey knew the one, was not able to stand without the other.

Soon after this revived *Junto*, to their great joy, had met, *Hazelrig*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, came to their Companions, being attended from *Portsmouth* by those forces, that were led by *Desborow* to reduce them; who being then deserted by them, hasted back to *London*, and from thence to St. *Albans*; whence he wrote an humble letter to his restored Masters, craveing pardon, and telling them, that he had procured his own Regiment, which was at that time quarter'd there, to return to their Obedience. From S. *Albans*, *Desborow* went into *York-sheir to Lambert*, who was now in a declineing condition.

General *Monk* finding things goe to his mind in *England*

now broke of the treaty he had yet continued at *York*, and had planted his armie very advantageously along the River *Tweed*, on the *Scotch* side, in such a prudent manner, that in a few hours he could have all his Forces together; and lay so well posted, that the enemie could not make their way to him without extraordinary disadvantage: and if *Lambert* should have attempted to have got to him by the way of *Carlile*, he would by that means have gained several days march before him towards *London*; being also well assured, theCountry would come in a pace to him. *Lambert* was about 13000 strong, and far superior to General *Monk* (in numbers) especially in Horse; which made that famous and experienced commander decline engageing.

The *Rumpers*, as soon as got together, order *Potham*, *Thomson*, *Scot*, *Okey*, *Ashly-Cooper*, *Alured*, and *Markham*, or any 3 of them to beCommissioners to Order, Direct, and Conduct the forces of the armie; these write to *Lambert* to disperse his forces, but they were doeing that themselvs before, and the *Irish* Brigade that came over to his assistance under *Redman* and *Bret* submitted to the *Junto*; a pardon being sent to *Lambert*, and for all others that should submit to them by the 9 th. of the same month: by the example of the *Irish* Regiments, divers other Regiments also forsook *Lambert*, who headed by the Lords *Fairfax* and *Faulconbridg* lately came to them, seized *York*, for the *Junto*. *Lambert* upon this marches from the borders Southward, his souldiers forsakeing him so fast, that by such time as he came to *North-Allerton*, he had not above 50 Horse remaining, where upon both he and they concluded to lay hold on the offer of pardon, and so dispersed, which being done, those at *York* likwise departed to their respective Quarters. *Windsor* castle also was surrendred to them by the means of Col. *Ingoldsby*: all things thus prospering, they fall upon the Oath of Abjuration or Renunciation of the whole line of King *James*, which they had been hammering at before, but now nominateing a Concil of State, they order that none of them should

Act

Act, till they had taken this oath, which was now formed more ſtrict than ever; and it was alſo propoſed, that all the members of the Houſe ſhould take it: but this was ſtrongly oppoſed by many, for that ſecretly divers of them had ſought their pardons of the King, and ſeeing that he would inevitably come in the wiſeſt & leaſt obnoxions of them, endeavoured to ſave themſelvs, and to be inſtrumental in his Majeſties Reſtauration, among whom were Sir *Anthony Aſhly Cooper*, St *John*, *Ingoldſly*, *Morley*, and others: But the Oath was this: *I doe hereby ſwear*, That *I doe renounce the pretended title of* Charles Stewart, *and the whole line of King* James, *and of every other perſon, as a ſingle perſon, pretending or which ſhall pretend to the Crown or Government of theſe nations of* England, Scotland, *and* Ireland *or any of them, and the dominious and territories belonging to them or any of them.* And that *I will by the grace and aſſiſtance of almighty God, be true, faithfull, and conſtant to the* Parliament *and* Common Wealth, *and will oppoſe the bringing in or ſetting up any ſingle perſon, or Houſe of Lords and every of them in this* Common Wealth.

A third part at leaſt of their Council of State refuſed this Oath, ſaying it was a ſnare and a confining of Providence, and ſo were not permitted to ſit.

The ſecluded Members, would not yet give over their Right of ſitting, and tho they knew and had declared, that the Parliament was legally diſſolved by the Death of the late King, yet they, upon the reſitting of the *Rumpers*, require admiſſion, whereupon it was again reſolved *that they did ſtand duely diſcharged from their ſitting as members of that* Parliament, *and that writs ſhould be immediatly iſſued out, for the electing of new members in their places.* Thus they are ſtill provideing to perpetuate themſelves. And then falling to their old trade of divideing the ſpoyle, and to let them ſee how much they were offended, they order the Eſtates of Sr *Georg Booth* (a ſecluded member) and all his adherents to be forthwith ſould.

General *Monk* who kept a correſpondence in *Ireland*, received the news that his friends had ſurprized *Dublin*,

Caſtle, and that moſt of all *Ireland* had declared for him, and the *Parliament* to ſit again, but he was ſurprized at the actual ſiting again of the *Rump*, having other deſigns in his head, than their reſtauration, and therefore thinks it now high time to march, tho' in the midſt of winter, and great ſnow: yet on the 2 of *January* he begins to ſet forward, reſolving for *London*. In the mean time the *Junto* knowing that both City and Country were highly exaſperated, who would not be ſatisfied with any thing, but the reſtoring the old members, or a free Parliament, and having alſo had experience of the Armies ſtubbornneſs, and aptneſs to mutiny, therefore to provide for their own Safety, which was very dear to them, they make *Morley* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and ordered a letter of thanks to be ſent to General *Monk*: which was accordingly done, and which the General received being upon this march, and cauſed it to be read to his ſouldiers at the head of their Regiments, whilſt they ſtood up to the knees in ſnow. This letter was but cold comfort, and they feared leſt it ſhould have hind'red their march; for the ſouldiers long'd to be at *London*, and the Meſſenger told *Monk*, that *Lambert*'s forces were diſpers'd, and all things quiet, yet the General would not underſtand him, but continued his *march* Southwards, for he ſaid he would ſee them ſetled, and take care no more force ſhould be put upon them: and by a meſſenger of his own, ſent them a letter, much to the ſame purpoſe, with a return of thanks for the honour they did him, and of profeſſions of fidelity to them; and that they being in an unſetled condition, he thought it beſt to ſee them ſetled, &c. with ſeveral other things, which he recommended to them, both as to the ſoulderie, and the people. The General had left Major General *Morgan* behind in *Scotland*, with ſufficient force to keep that nation in quiet, who were now in great expectation of the iſſue of *Monks* march into *England*. All the way as he march'd he was highly careſſed by the Gentry, and addreſſed by the Counties for a free Parliament, to whom he was very

very reſerv'd tho' civil, ſo that many ſcruples and doubts a roſe concerning him ſome ſuſpecting him a Royaliſt, others a Rumper, and others believing he intended to ſet up himſelf in *Olivers* place. The City likewiſe ſent their Swordbearer to complement him, and to offer him their ſervice, and then by 3 Commiſſioners requeſting the ſame thing, the readmiſſion of the ſecluded members, without any previous Oath, or a free *Parliament*, either of which they knew would bring in the King, tho' they durſt not yet ſpeak out. *Monk* obſerv'd all, and tho' inwardly glad, he knew one error might ſpoyle all, therefore he ſtill kept his mind to himſelf, and anſwer'd them, that he would ſee the *Parliament* freed from all force, and the Houſe filled, and good proviſion made for future Parliaments But the *Rumpers*, who had alſo received the like declarations from the Country, doubting what thoſe careſſes might produce, ſent two of their ſubtleſt members, *Scot* and *Luke Robinſon*, in ſhew to wait upon *Monk*, but in effect to watch and obſerve him, and to give them an account of all his actions, for their Jealouſie of him dayly increaſed. The General came to St. *Albans* upon the 28 th. of *January*, and there made an hault, ſending from thence a letter to the *Junto*, which he had framed before-hand as *Nottingam*, in which he deſired to have his quarters aſſigned him, according to the liſt he had ſent, ready drawn in his letter, and that thoſes forces that were now there, might draw forth and march to ſeverall Quarters, far enough a ſunder, as he had alſo by his liſt incloſed appoynted or deſired. telling them he did it upon mature conſideration, of the preſent poſture of their affairs, that thoſe places he had aſſigned to them, who were to march out, might be ſecured for them, he having intelligence of their diſtemper'd condition, and that he preſumed with ſubmiſſion, that it would not be for their ſervice, that thoſe ſouldiers then in *London* lately in Rebellion againſt them, ſhould mingle with thoſe of his approved faithfull Regiments, till they ſhould, by their new Officers put over them, be reduced to a more aſſu-

red obedience to them. Colonel *Morley's* and Colonel *Fagg's* Regiments were excepted, he having an assurance of them. This letter was sent by Colonel *Lydect*, who was allyed to the Speaker. This letter caused a violent dispute, which lasted from 8 in the morning, till 12 at noon, the result of which was; That the Parliament did agree with the distributions of the souldiers according to the Lists, and that the Souldiers be forth with distributed accordingly. The General was not a little glad to hear of this, for by this he did his business, and it was of great consequence as to his design, in thus getting the sole possession of *London* and *Westminster* into his power. *Fleetwoods* armie marched out of *London*, having a months pay assigned them, but this did not satisfie, nor keep them from grumbling, and some of them *mutined* at *Somerset-house*, but at last were fain to follow their fel-lows. The *Junto* would have given the General a 1000. pounds a year out of Sir *George Booths* estate, but he refused it; and then they grant him St *James's* park dureing their pleasure.

Upon the 3d of *February*, having sent his Lady and family before him, he marched into *London*, with his Armie, entring by the way of *Grays Inn-lane* and so thorow *Chancery lane* and *Temple* bar, into the *Strand*, where, about *Somerset* House he was met by the Speaker, where they complemented one another, and because he would not fall more under the suspition of his Jealous Masters, he is content to accept of the Lodgings they had appoynted for him at *White-Hall*. Goeing to the Parliament House on *Munday* the 6 of *February* he received the thanks of the *Junto*, and afterwards made a speech to them, standing at the back of a velvet chair they had placed for him within the Bar, in which he thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, and among other things, after he had give them an account of Affairs, he humbly desired them to satisfie the expectation of the Nation, in the establishment of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties, to remove the Conceit, which the people had of their intending to perpetuate themselves, by their determining thir own Session, and for providing for future Parliaments

ments, and the fewer qualifications the better; intreating them to uſe the Nobility and Gentry civilly, and telling them that the *Phanaticks* were as dangerous as *Cavaliers*. This ſpeech of his was no good Muſick in their ears, and ſome of the haſty raſh ones among them, had much adoe to forbear interrupting him, however, tho' galled, they diſſembled a while, for that the City ſtill continued refractory, and had paſſed a Vote in Common Council Feb. 8. *Not to pay* or *levie any Taxes till they had a full and free Parliament.* Upon which the *Junto* thinking this to be highly derogatorie to their Authoritie, the Council of Sate order the General, the next morning to go into the City with a part of the Armie, and to ſeize on 11 of the moſt active of them, and to pull down their Poſts and Chains, to unhinge their Gates, and take away their porculliſſis. The Generaewas ſurprized at this order, knowing it would render him odious to the Citizens, and ſuſpected that they deſigned by this means, to make an utter breach between the City and Him, that they might tye him the ſurer to their own party. He was one of the Council of State, but did not ſit among them, becauſe he denyed to take the Oath, yet he went to them, & debated the buſineſs with them, til mid-night, divert but he found nothing he could ſay would their reſolutions. They alſo ordered him to quarter his ſouldiers upon them, till he had brought them to obedience. He ſaw he was now forced to obey, or quit his Command; and to do the latter at this time, would ſpoyle all he had labour'd for; and openly to make an interruption had then been equally dangerous, being not yet fully aſſured of his ſouldiers: wiſely therefore he reſolves to obey theſe orders, and by this means to try the ſpirits of the ſouldiers, and of the Citizens, and alſo to quaſh the ſuſpitions of his Maſters. His Commiſſion being now expireing. The next day therefore he marches to *Guil-Hall*, and peremptorily demands the Aſſeſſment. They plead *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right* and the Act of the *Junto* made the day before *Lambert* turn'd them out, that *they were not to pay Taxes without their Conſent in*

Partiament, which they had not, for they had no Burgesses in the House. Upon this refusal, the General seises 9 of the 11 they had appointed him, and to the amasement of the Citizens, who had thought him their friend, and to the souldiers, who obeyed his orders very unwillingly. He pull'd down their Posts and Chains; and applications being made to him by some of the most sober of the Citizens, he could not but restifie how ungratefull the Action was to him, but that he was under Masters, whom he was bound to obey, but promised he would write to them the next day about it, as he did, giving the *Junto* an Account, how he had obeyed their orders, as to seising the persons they had commanded him to seize, and had pulled down their Posts and Chains, but had not as yet medled with their Gates, because the Common Council were appoynted to meet that morning, and he doubted not, but that all things would be composed to their satisfaction, and the Assessment paid. But the *Junto*, upon the reading his Letter, grew higher and more violent than before, and without other answer, sent him a peremptory order, not only to unhinge their gates, and take away the portcullisies, bnt to break them all to pieces: and likewise order'd, That the present Common Council of the City, should be dissolved, and declared them nul and voyd, ordering him not to let them meet. Vext at his noble Heart the General was, to see himself, made the *Junto's* Executioner; but least they should at this time vacate his Commission, which he thought they sought at present for; he fully executed their Orders, to the great Grief of the City, and for a time to the utter loss of their Affection, and he perceived also the temper of his own souldiers, who many of them utterly refused; tho' they told him they would dye for him in Battell: but this was a work unworthy of souldiers, to a Citty that was their friend. He as secretly rejoyced, to find how well they agreed, tho' he made shew to the contrary; but this was the last service he ever intended to do this *Junto*: for on the 10 of *February*, his Commission was at an end, and he expected they would have renew'd

General Monck Marching into London.

Monck & his Soldiers pulling down the Citty Gates posts and chaines.

A free Parlyament Voted the King to be sent for

The K: & 2 Dukes Riding &c through London attended &c Arbitrary Government abolished.

renew'd it, and returned to *Whitehall*. But in requital of this ſervice, his ungratefull and ungracious Maſters fearing too much greatneſs in any one Man, inſtead of renewing his Commiſſion, they had made him a Colonel again, and joyned 4 others with him, equal in Command. This was an hand ſome occaſion for *Monk* now to begin to unhood himſelf, and being wiſely managed, might be a good means of induceing his Officers to joyn with him in his buſineſs. He repreſents the matter to them, and they unanimouſly conclude, that the *Junto* did intend at length to ſupplant them all, and impoſe upon them, and the whole Nation. The ſame day the City Gates were beat down, *Praise God Barebonne*, with a rabble of *Phanaticks*, preſent the *Junto*, with a Petition, that none might be imployed in Civil or Military Offices, untill they had taken the Oath of Renunciation, and had the Thanks of the Houſe.

The name of thoſe joyned in the Commiſſion with General *Monk* were, *Hazelrig*, *Morley*, *Walton*, and *Alured*, 3 of which were to be a *Quorum*, and when it was moved by *Monk's* friends, that he might be always of the *Quorum* it was carried in the Negative, which ſo exaſperated the General, that having tryed his Officers, he ſecretly ordered all the Armie to be drawn up, and having prepared a Letter, ſigned by himſelf and the Cheif Officers of his Armie, in which they Complain of the *Junto's* Countenanceing *Lambert* and *Vain*, and permitted *Ludlow* to ſit with them, tho accuſed by Sir *C. Coot* of high Treaſon they conclude that by *Friday* next, they ſhould iſſue out writs for the filling up the Houſe, & when filled, ſhould riſe at their appoynted time to give way to a free *Parliament*.

The Letter they ſent to the *Junto* ſitting, and immediatly march into *London*, to ſhake hands with the City: on the 11 of *February* the Armie is drawn up into *Finsbury* feilds and the General being invited to dinner, by the Lord Major, who at firſt was very ſhie, not knowing how to believe what ſome of *Monks* friends had told him of the General's Letter to the *Junto*, and of his reſolving to declare for a free *Parliament*, but before they parted, the

General himſelf gave him, and the reſt of the Citizens, ſuch ſatisfaction of his Integrity, that, overjoy'd, they cauſed the ſouldiers to be feaſted, and Quarters in the City to be provided for them, the Bells in all the Churches to ring, and at night Bonfires to be made in every ſtreet, declareing for a free *Parliament*.

In the mean time the *Junto* read the Generals and his Officers Letter, which cauſed a very great diſorder in the Houſe: however they thought it beſt to diſſemble, and ſecretly reſolve to ruine Him, if they can, tho' openly they Vote him the thanks of the Houſe, and ſend away *Scot* and *Robinſon* to give it him, and to let him know they were about qualifications for members to be Choſen, for the filling up their Houſe. But when they heard of what was done in the City, the *Rumpers* gnashed at it, and angry they were, that they could not take revenge on the ſubſcribers of the late Remonſtrances for a free *Parliament*, whoſe Eſtates they earneſtly longed to be dealing with. And now in the nick of Time comes a Declaration from *Ireland*, where they had ſecured Sir *Hardreſs Waller* a Rumper, which was of the ſame nature with thoſe of the *Engliſh* Counties; but more bold and reſolute, ſpeaking their Minds freely, the Lord *Broughill* being one of the Cheif promotors of it. His Excellency having waited ſome days for an anſwer to his Letter, and receiving none, but what *Scot* and *Robinſon* brought him, who durſt not ſtay in the City, for fear of being ſtoned; and finding nothing done in reference to the filling the Houſe, he ſet himſelf about conſidering ſome way to diſſolve the *Junto*, without force or violence. In this juncture, many of the ſecluded Members were in and about the City; Some of whom addreſſed themſelves to the General, who procured a Conference between ten of them, and ten of the *Junto*; where, the one party challenged admiſſion as Members of the Houſe, unjuſtly forced from it before; the others refuſed it, unleſs they would confirm all that was done ſince by them, or at leaſt ingage as they had done againſt a ſingle perſon, and Houſe of Lords; but when they could not agree about theſe poynts; *Monk* who was preſent both

times

times, (for they had two meetings) clearly discerning more of self-interested wilfulness than any Reason in what the *Rumpers* urged, a day or two after sent for the Secluded, and demanded if they were of the same mind, and resolved not to engage against a single person, to which they answering affirmatively, and professing to be immoveable therein, he got above fourscore of them together to *Whitehall*, where recommending the care of Religion, and the State to them, and telling them how suteable Physick a full and free *Parliament* would be for the crazed body of this Nation, he told them the House was open to them, and prayed for their good success, and so on the 21th of *February* they went and took their places in the House; which was managed so secretly, that the *Junto* knew nothing of their comming, till they appeared; which so surprised them, that they could not tell whether they had best sit still, or leave their places. The moderate among them stayed, but the grand sticklers for a *Common Wealth*, knowing now they should be out-Voted; and that they should be able to do no good, or rather further mischief, quitted the House.

Whilst these things were transacting, the *Junto* had endeavoured all ways possibly, to have gotten *Monk* out of the City, that they might have had him in their power; inviteing him to sit in the Council of State, and had sent Colonel *Alured* to persuade him; but he was too wise to trust them, for he had secret intelligence of their intentions of sending him to the Tower, or of serving him worse; for they foresaw their own ruine: he excused himself by his care of secureing the City by his presence, who were full of disturbance, and ready to mutinee. But now the secluded Members, having gotten in, eleven years after they had been kept out, being double the number of the former sitters, out-Voted them still, so as there was no interruption. They had long been standers by, and had seen more than the Gamesters, and now they mean to improve their animadversions and experience to the doeing of a great deal in a little time. They fall to work presently, where they were abruptly

ruptly forced to break off *December* 1648, confirming their Vote made then by another now. That *the Conceſſions of his Late Maieſty, were a ſufficient Ground to proceed on, for ſetling the peace of the Kingdom.* Hereby Vacateing all that had been done contrary thereunto, dureing their Receſs. Brave *Monk* is by them conſtituted *Captain General* of all the forces in *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; and He with General *Mountague*, made Admirals at Sea. Sir *William Waller* is made Leiutenant General of the land forces: Colonel *Edward Roſſiter* General of the Horſe, and Vice Admiral *Lawſon* Continued in his Commaand. Severel Gentlemen committed by the *Rumpers* order were then releaſed, and among others Sir *George Booth*, who took his place in the Houſe, and the City Gates, Portcullisſes, Poſts, and Chains, were ordered to be repaired at the publique charge. Then they provided to ſecure the Nation by two ſeaſonable Acts, the one for an Aſſeſſment, the other for the Militia, and paſt ſome Acts concerning Miniſters. Laſtly they conſult about diſſolving themſelves, to which the *Rump* party, were very unwilling, and therefore many of them intended to be abſent, when that buſineſs ſhould be debated, becauſe they would not give their conſent: But the others ſmelling their deſign, watched a convenient time, and iſſuing out writs in the name of *the Keepers of the Liberties*, &c. for a full and free *Parliament*, to convene on the 25th. of *April* following, ſaveing to the Houſe of Lords their Rights, notwithſtanding the Commons in this Juncture had been neceſſitated to proceed without them: They upon *Friday* the 16th. of *March* 1659, when the greateſt number of the *Rumpers* were preſent, diſſolve themſelves by Act. Thus was an undenyable Period put to this *Tragical* long *Parliament*, by their own Vote, tho' it was legally *ipſo facto* diſſolved before, by the Death of King *Charles* the 1ſt. whoſe writs had ſummoned them together.

But before they diſſolved themſelves, they ſettled a new Council of State, to govern in the intervall of

the

the *Parliaments*, and abrogated the Oath of Abjuration, and the former Council. The chief of these were General, *George Monk*, General *Mountague*, Mr. *Annesly*, President, the Lord *Fairfax*, Sir *William Waller*, Mr. *Hollis*, *Pierpoint*, *Rossiter*, *Saint-Johns Widdrington*, Sir *Anthony Ashly-Cooper*, and others, to the number of thirty in all, who behaved themselves with much circumspection, setting forth a Proclamation against all disturbers of the Peace either in Action or Speech, and tendring an Engagement for peaceable demeanor, to be subscribed by such as they suspected, which *Lambert* refusing was committed to the Tower, disarming the *Phanaticks* every where, they purged the Army of Schismatical Officers and Soldiers, taking care of the Garisons. *Overton*, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, was removed out of his Government of *Hull*, and Collonel *Charles Fairfax* was placed in his Room. Collonel *Rich* made some stir about St. *Edmunds-bury*; but Collonel *Rich*. *Ingoldsby* quieted his Soldiers, and seised him, and thereupon was restored to that Regiment, from whose Command the *Wallingfordians* had put him by, when they degraded young *Cromwell*.

Thus ended the *Arbitrary* and *Tyranical* Usurpation of the *Rumpers*, by the great providence of God, and the good *Genius* of *Englands* means, in raising up the Great and Renowned *Monk* to be a Saviour to his Nation, and to reduce the Monarchy, to its legal, antient, and happy state again, and that the torrent of violence and Arbitrary Tyrany, that had so variously over-run and spoiled the Land, might be lost and sunk into the Earth, whence it sprung, and the Stream of Government, bounded by Laws and ancient Customs, might again run in its right Course and ancient Channel, from whence it had been diverted. And now I should conclude, having fully finished my Draught, or Picture of *Arbitrary* and *Tyranical Government*, which I have taken from the Life, being the true History and Resemblance of the Monster, now so much feared, and which no Man that is a lover of the Peace of this Nation, and that hath his Sence and Reason, can behold without Horror and Indignation, and resolve in himself to suffer

ſuffer much, rather than to run the hazard of raiſing up this Ghoſt, to the ruine of three Kingdoms and the Lives and Eſtates of ſo many perſons as muſt be devoured for dayly food, to maintain the Life of ſuch a Monſter; the remembrance of which, moved by the ſight of this very Picture of it, is enough to affright, I ſhall therefore only, as the laſt touches to this piece, ſhew you as it were the laſt ſtruggle or gaſp for Life, of the overthrown Monſter, and ſo finiſh my Deſign, and that in few words.

Lambert, whether by neglect, or Treachery of his Keepers is not known, eſcapes out of the Tower, and ſoon after appears in Arms, with a party of his Caſhired Officers and Soldiers, once more to embroil the Nation, but he was proclaimed Traitor, and the whole Nation beginning to hope for a ſetled Peace, were unanimouſly bent to aid the General (if need were) againſt him: He had choſen *Edg-Hill* near *Keinton* in *Warwick*-ſhire for the place of his *Rendezvouz*, hopeing it would prove as Ominous to the Royal Intereſt, as it had done before; and in all probability, there would have been a great Confluence of all ſorts of Sectaries to him in a ſhort ſpace, and he was not without hope, that if the old Soldiers were ſent againſt him, many of them would turn to him, but he was eagerly purſued by ſome parties of Horſe and Foot, and Collonel *Charles Howard* had almoſt overtaken him; but it was Collonel *Ingoldsby's*, good hap to light upon him near *Daventry* in *Northampton*-ſhire, where *Lambert* was ſurprized with a ſtrange Conſternation, and durſt not engage tho he was nothing inferior in numbers to the others, which his followers obſerving, ſome of them went over to his purſuers, others ſlunk away and himſelf taken by Colonel *Ingoldsby* the 22d. of *April* 1660. and with Collonel *Cobbet*, Major *Creod*, and Captain *Hazerig*, ſon to Sir *Arthur*, was ſent up to *London*, and two days after, paſſing by *Hide-Park*, he ſaw 20000 Horſe and Foot of the City Regiments, and Auxiliaries, there Training, with divers of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, trailing Pikes voluntarily among them, and the ſame day he was committed to the Tower. This

This ended, towards the ſetling of the Peace of the Nation. His Excellency had wrought his Officers to declare, they would with him acquieſce in the Reſolves of the Parliament, appointed to meet the 25th of April, 1660. who accordingly met, the Lords and Peers in the upper-houſe taking their places, by virtue of their Birthright, who ſoon, according to the whole Nations expectations and Prayers, reſtored his Majeſty to his Right, his Crown and Dignity; the Nobility to their ancient Birthrights and Priviledges, the People to their property, freedom, and liberties, and the Laws to their ancient courſe and boundaries; the three Kingdoms rejoycing and a long Peace, quietneſs and tranquillity ſucceeding; which yet is grateful to the memory of all Loyal and good Subjects: therefore however of late our old Jealouſies and fears are increaſed by our ſecret Adverſaries, yet let all people remember what hath paſt, and by viewing this Picture of the moſt horrid and devouring Dragon, called *Arbitrary* and *Tyrannical Uſurpation*; let them abhor it, and beware of falling under the ſame power, and into the ſame ſnare by any ſpecious or colourable Pretence whatſoever; and continually pray that the Peace of the Nation may be continued, with the Life of his moſt Gracious Majeſty, whom the King of Kings preſerve both in the Throne and in the Hearts of his people. *Amen.*

Upon

Upon the late STORME, *and of the* DEATH *of his* HIGNNESS *enſuing the ſame, by Mr.* Waller.

WE muſt reſign; Heaven his great Soul do's claime
In ſtormes as loud, as His *Immortall Fame*;
His dying *groanes*, his laſt *Breath* ſhakes our Iſle,
And trees uncut fall for His *Funerall Pile*,
About his Palace their broad roots are toſt
Into the air; So *Romulus* was loſt:
New *Rome* in ſuch a Tempeſt mis't her King,
And from *Obeying* fell to *Worſhiping*.
On *Oeta's* top thus *Hercules* lay dead
With ruin'd Okes, and Pines about him ſpread;
Thoſe his laſt fury from the *Mountain* rent,
Our dying *Hero* from the *Continent*
Raviſh'd whole *Towns*; and *Forts* from *Spaniards* reft
As his laſt Legacy, to *Brittain* left:
The *Ocean* which ſo long our hopes confin'd
Could give no limits to His *vaſter mind*;
Our Bounds *inlargment* was his lateſt toyle;
Nor hath he left us *Priſoners* to our *Iſle*;
Under the *Tropick* is our language ſpoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.
From Civil Broyles he did us diſingage,
Found nobler objects for our Martial rage,
And with wiſe *Conduct* to his Country ſhow'd
Their ancient way of conquering *abroad*:
Ungratefull then, if we no Tears allow
To *Him* that gave us *Peace*, and *Empire* too.
Princes that fear'd him, *grieve*, concern'd, to ſee
No pitch of glory from the Grave is free.
Nature her ſelf took notice of His death,
And *ſighing* ſwel'd the Sea, with ſuch a breath
That to remoteſt ſhores her Billowes rol'd,
Th approching Fate of their *great Ruler* told.

Upon

Upon the late STORME, *tranſlated out of Mr.* Waller's *fine* Piece *of* FLATTERY.

THen take him *Devil*, Hell his Soul doth claime
In *Stormes* as Loud, as his *King-murthring* Fame.
His cheating *Groans*, and Teares, has ſhak'd this Iſle,
Cleft *Brittains* Oakes, , for *Brittains* funerall Pile.
Now at his Exit, Trees uncut are toſt
Into the Ayr ; So *Fauſtus* once was loſt.
Rome miſt her firſt, ſo *London* her laſt *King*,
Both kill'd, then wept, and fell to worſhiping.
We in a *Storme* of wind our *Nimrod* loſt,
King'd him, then Sainted him, then curs'd his Ghoſt.
In *Oeta's* flames thus *Hercules* lay dead,
In *Worceſters* flames, he on his raving Bed.
He ſome ſcragg'd Oakes, and Pines, from Mountains rent,
This ſtole two brave Iſles from the Continent.
Raviſh'd whole Towns, and that his *Spaniſh* Theft
As a curs'd *Legacy* to *Brittain* left.
The Seas with which our hopes *God* had confin'd.
The *Devil* made too narrow for his mind.
Our Bounds enlargement was his greateſt toyle,
He made our Priſon greater than our Iſle.
Under the *Line* our enſlav'd crys are ſpoke,
And we and *Dunkirck* draw but in one Yoke.
From broyles he made, he beſt could diſ-engage,
From his own head diverts our purchas'd rage:
And by fine State-art to his Country ſhow'd
How to be Slaves at home, and Theeves abroad.

Confederate Uſurpers quake to ſee
The Grave not under th' power of Tyranny.
Nature ſhrunk up at this great Monſter's death,
And ſwell'd the Seas with much affrighted breath.
Then to the Bounder'd Shore her Billowes roll'd
Th' approching fate of *Europes* troubles told.

ENG-

ENGLAND *Still freſhly lamenting the Loſs of her* KING, *with ſeveral of her Deareſt* CHILDREN; *which have been beheaded, hanged, and ſhot, by* O. CROMWEL, *and the* Long-Parliament. *In a Brief Collection of the remarkable Paſſages that have happened to this Land, from the year* 1640, *to the year* 1660.

IN ſixteen hundred thirty nine, we then
Did think, and ſay we were unhappy men,
Becauſe that we in many years before
Had not a Parliament; nay I'le ſay more,
We then did murmur, and we did complain
Of many preſſures, we did them ſuſtain:
Ship-mony then a burden was unto us,
O Lord, theſe taxes, we cry'd, will unto us;
This coat and conduct mony, is unlawfull,
Lord, ſent a Parliament, to make us joyfull:
Shall we be made ſuch ſlaves unto the will
Of ſuch a King, that ſeeks out lives to kill,
And our eſtates will take away by force,
Yea, our Religion, which of all is worſe,
A Parliament Lord ſend us, was the ſong,
Of rich and poor, the old, and eke the young.
Well, God did hear us, and into the heart
Of our late King, did put it, (to his ſmart)
To call a Parliament, as I remember,
For to begin the third day of *November*; (1640.)
Which is now nineteen years ago compleat,
And doth ſit ſtill; with grief we may repeat.

Then

Then preſently the Taxes down were voted,
Which were ſo great, as I before have noted:
Star-chamber then, and high Commiſſion Court
Were then put down, tis true what I report.
Then did the King grant unto them to ſit,
In Parliament, ſo long as they thought fit:
And then for a Triennial Parliament
An Act was made, miſtakes for to prevent.
Then joyfull were we, this ſame news to hear,
Rung Bells, made Bonfires, as it did appear;
But now behold, conſider, and look back,
And ſee how we have been put to the wrack,
For firſt a hundred thouſand pound was rais'd,
To give the Scots, at which we were amaz'd,
For their good ſervice done ſome time before,
This recompence they had then for their lore:
Beſides in ſixteen hundred forty ſix,
Juſt twice as much the Parliament did fix,
And give unto them, 'cauſe they ſhould deliver
The King unto them, the like I think was never.
Thus was the King by our dear Brother ſold,
For no leſs mony than before was told;
Likewiſe an hundred thouſand pound, ſcarce leſs
Was raisd, the Iriſh Rebells to ſuppreſs,
And after that, above three thouſand pound,
Was raisd for Souldiers, which was quickly found,
And liſted were, to fight againſt the King,
What think you now, was't not a goodly thing?
The fifty ſubſidies, were raisd, beſide
Pole mony alſo, which men did deride;
And other Sums of money freely given,
Tot ſet out Ships for Coals, they were ſo riſen;
Then did they order every one to bring
His Plate to *Guild-Hall*: to the very Ring,
Bodkin, and Thimble, brought to maintain the cauſe,
All which was done; and that with great applauſe,
And thoſe that would this order not obey,
The twentieth part of his Eſtate muſt pay.
Such was the greedy Appetite of thoſe,

Who ſeem'd our Friends, but I think were our Foes:
Beſides all theſe; yet ſee how great vaſt ſums,
From every Hall and Corporation comes;
And other places which if I ſhould name,
'Twould add, no glory to them, nor good fame.
Then was there not a far more worſe device
Laid on our Backs, a thing call'd the Exciſe,
For we Exciſe did pay for meat, and drink,
And all things elſe, that they upon could think;
Beſides at *Brainford*, when there was a fight,
We ſent the Souldiers with ſuch great delight,
Cart-loads of victuals, with great ſtore of Cloaths,
With Shirts, Shoos, Hats, and many a pair of Hoſe,
And mony too, by ſome was freely given;
By thoſe who thought thereby for to gain Heaven;
All which was done, as they ſaid, with intent,
To bring the King unto his Parliament,
And make him glorious, and a happy King,
This was the cry, though they meant no ſuch thing;
Likewiſe in ſixteen hundrrd forty three,
The Parliament did order there ſhould be,
The worth in mony of a good meals meat,
For every one that was i'th houſe did eat,
For half a year together it was paid,
Oh was not this a very gallant traid?
Likewiſe in ſixteen hundred forty five.
'Twas ordered alſo every man to give,
A penny a week of every Family,
For one whole year together, 'tis no lye;
And this was ſent poor *Ireland* to relieve,
If thoſe that order'd did not us deceive:
Then after this they laid on us great Taxes,
To hew us down as if it were with Axes,
And ſixty thouſand pound a month, a year,
They made us pay, as it did well appear,
And ſome years ninety thouſand every month was paid,
For a whole year together undenayed;
Beſides, a hundred twenty thouſand pound,
Was paid a month by all, a whole year round,

All

All which to many millions doth amount,
Far geater than the wit of man can count:
And whoſoever did not pay his Seaſement,
Was either plunder'd or priſon'd without releaſement,
And by ſuch means, ſome thouſands are undone,
And knew not how, or which way for to run;
And children likewiſe are made fatherleſs,
That knew not how their wants for to expreſs;
With multitudes of widows, that none knows
The number of them, or their wants diſcloſe.
Beſides the maimed, that want hands or feet,
And wounded ſo, 'twould grieve one for to ſee't:
And yet beſides, the thouſands that are ſlain,
Which can't be numbred, for it is in vain.
Then burning houſes followed out-right,
With caſtles waſted, and demoliſh'd quite:
And Towns and Cities are by wars undone,
The ſouldiers ſpoiling all that they had won:
And every place is ſo impoveriſhed,
For want of trade, to buy the people bread.
The Churches likewiſe they were much defaced,
And made like ſtables, wherein horſe were placed:
They took away the veſſels every one,
And ornaments, I think they left not one.
Thus did the Churches their privileges loſe,
And ſects, and errours were brought in to chooſe:
And God's true worſhip it was laid aſide,
And in blaſphemies they did take a pride;
And toleration of ſuch things that's evil
Was given them, the like did not the Devil.
Thus have you heard the truth of things in brief,
And yet not half, nor do I think the chief
Of what they did; in twelve years time they ſat,
But if you'll mind, the next ſhall tell you what.
The firſt beheaded on the Tower Hill,
Was Earl of *Strafford*, ſore againſt his will. (14 *May* 1641.)
Sir *Alexander Carew* was the ſecond, (23 *Decemb.* 1641.)
That loſt his head, for ſo it muſt be tekon'd:
And Captain *Hotham* after him ſucceeded, (1 *Jan.* 1644.)

His

His Father alſo next day after bleeded.
The Biſhop then of *Cantorbury* next (2 *Jan.*1644.
That was beheaded,after he preach'd his text. (10 *Jan.*
But now my heart doth fail,the next to tell, (1644.
That loſt his life, ſince which we ne're were well:
O Gracious God, was ever ſuch things known,
A King ſo kill'd by ſubjects of his own. (30 *Jan.* 1648.
May that accurſed act of killing Kings,
Drink deep the dregs of the infernal ſtings.
Lord *Capel* next, Duke *Hamilton* another,
The Earl of *Holland* alſo was the tother:
Theſe three together at *Weſtminſter* were headed, (9 *March*
For being true to'th King, this Parliament did it. (1648.)
Next Collonel *Andrews*, and then Sir *Henry Hide*, (22 *Aug.*
Both on *Tower-Hill* were headed, and there dyed; (1650.)
And Captain *Buſhel* in that very place, (4. *March* 1650.)
Was headed there when he had run his race. (29 *March*
Next Mr. *Love*, and *Gibons*, in one day, (1651.)
Were both beheaded of a truth I ſay; (22 *Aug.* 1651.)
Loe here 14 to'th dozen in 12 years,
Beheaded were by theſe ſad Parliamenteers,
Beſides what others, in far remoter places,
To us unknown who never ſaw their faces:
Next you ſhall know, how many we have ſeen
Hang'd in the City, and ſhot to death have been.
Firſt, *Challoner*, and *Tomkins*, in one day,
Were hang'd in *London*, this is truth I ſay, (5 *Jul.*1643.)
Tomkins at *Fetter-Lane*, tother at the *Change*,
Thus did their madneſs round about us range,
About ſome four months after was another,
Hang'd at the *Change*,whoſe name I mean to ſmother, (19
And then another, whoſe name I forgot, (*July* 1650.)
At *Weſtminſter* was hang'd for I know what; (28.*Nov.*1643.)
He was a Spy they ſaid came from the King, (1 *April* 1644.)
And he muſt ſuffer therefore in a ſtring:
The next in order, though not he himſelf,
Was Sir *Johns Greenevils* picture,fooliſh Elfe,(1*March* 1643.)
That hanged was at the *Exchange*; for why?
Cauſe he left us, and to the King did fly:

Then

Then *Poyer*, *Pitcher*, *Lockier*, went to th' pot, (29 *De.* 1648.)
These three at several times, to death were shot. (21 *Ap.* 1649.
All these near *London*, and near thereabout, (27 *Apr.* 1649.)
Were hang'd, and shot to death, which they found out;
Besides all others throughout the Land,
If't could be knowen, we should amazed stand:
They having sat twelve years, then commeth *Cromwell*,
And turns them out; which Act, it doth please some well,
But he his part doth play, as did the rest,
And fals to heading, hanging, like a Beast.
The first was *Gerard*, that did feel the smart (10 *July* 1654.)
Of his keen Axe, which went unto the heart.
Next Doctor *Huit* in that very place, (8 *June* 1658.)
With *Henry Slingsby* Knight of comely grace:
Both in one day, but who can tell for what,
'Twas never known, nor never we shall that.
Then Mr *Vowell* was hangd at *Charing Cross*, (10 *July* 1654.)
And *Marston* also hangd to his friends loss. (10 *Aug.* 1654.)
But after all comes *Betterly* on the stage, (7 *July* 1658.)
Who in *Cheapside* was hangd in *Cromwell*'s rage,
And afterward his bowels burnt in fire,
'Cause they against him, He said, did conspire.
And then another hang'd was in *Tower street*,
And at the *Change* another, we did see't. (9 *July* 1650.)
These eight by *Cromwel* in the City dy'd,
But God doth know how many more beside
Were hangd, and headed within these three Nations,
Of whom I cant make any true relations.

POST.

POSTSCRIPT.

FRom the 3 November 1640. to the 20 April 1653. whe Oliver Cromwel turned out the long Parliament, there hat been 29 Thanks giving days for ſeveral victories obtained b them againſt the King: and at leaſt 15 days of Humiliation, beſ des the monthly Faſts, which was once a month for very neer years, being caſt up together, is at leaſt 90. which in all mak 105. And from the time of their turning out, to the 25 Decem ber laſt 1659, there hath been 10 Faſting days and 6 Thank giving days, ſo that the total number of the Faſting days to the 2 Decemb. laſt is 15. and the Thanksgiving days are 35.

In the late wars hath been killed above 100 Lords and Knight above 400 Officers, beſides the common Souldiers: above 100 Miniſters put out of their places and died of grief.

FINIS.

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